O. John Rogge

The record proves police used force on the Trenton Six

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NATIONAL GUARDIAN

the progressive newsweekly

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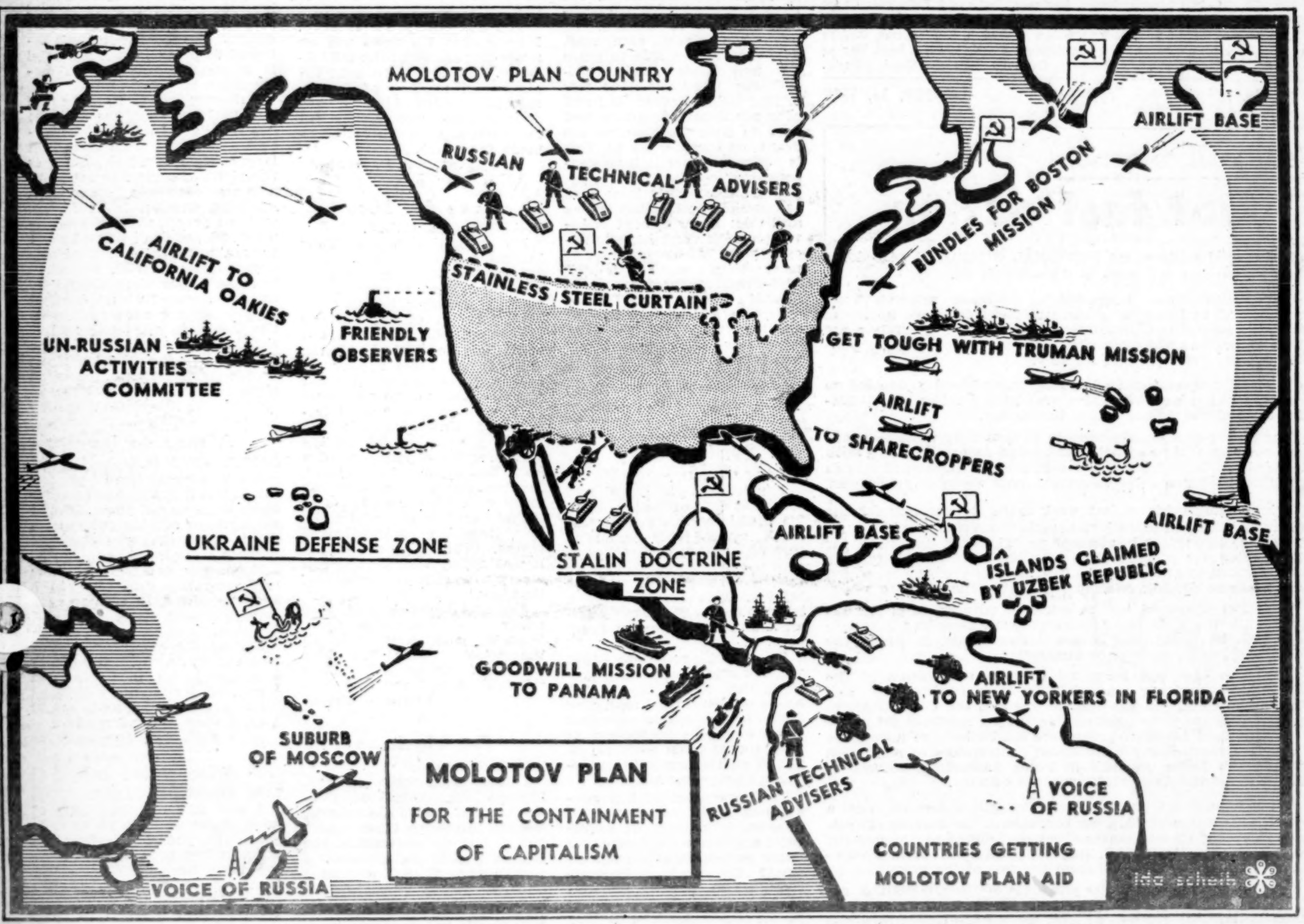
MOLOTOV PLAN COUNTRY
RUSSIAN TECHNICAL ADVISERS
AIRLIFT BASE
BUNDLES FOR BOSTON MISSION
AIRLIFT TO CALIFORNIA OAKIES
STAINLESS STEEL CURTAIN
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VOICE OF RUSSIA
COUNTRIES GETTING MOLOTOV PLAN AID
Ida Scheib

How would Americans like it if the Russians were encircling our country with U.S.-model Plans, Pacts, Doctrines and bases? Artist Ida Scheib produced this as a result of a nightmare she had last week—but readers are invited to check what she dreamed up against the facts of current U.S. policy.

NATIONAL ROUNDUP

Threat of plenty

STOCKS were tumbling last week; unemployment was on the rise; and out of the farms came the threat of too much wheat, rye, oats, corn and cattle.

There were more grain-fed cows and steers in Kansas City stockyards than at any time in history. Government granaries were overflowing. Farmers, stimulated by Marshall Plan expectations, were still planting more. In the South alone 1949 plantings were up 2,000,000 acres over 1948.

The problem was not how to use all we had. Bread did not grow stale on pantry shelves. People had not lost their appetite for steak. The trouble [illegible] an ancient one: too few could afford to buy all they need.

Last fall, France turned down U.S. wheat allocations. Holland and Denmark have said they don't need our grain. To make matters worse, the forecast was for a good 1949 crop in Europe.

"No flashbacks"

BOLD NEW NAM. The President turned for counsel last week to a delegation from the National Association of Manufacturers. A New York Times reporter commented on the meeting: "There were no flashbacks to the election in the discussion." The NAM had bitter words for the President during the campaign.

The NAM approved the President's "bold, new program" and offered to help in the "development of underdeveloped areas."

On the delegation was Curtis Calder, chairman of the Electric Bond and Share Co. NAM President Wallace F. Bennett recommended him for his "tremendous experience" in South America. Bennett also pointed to the qualifications of John Suman, president of the Standard Oil Co. of N. J., whose "Arabian experience" would be of value in developing the program.

The NAM found little satisfaction, though, in the President's statement to newsmen on Thursday that he thought stand-by price controls were still necessary.

Idle Americans

HOW MANY JOBLESS? The unemployment picture was shrouded in statistics. The January figure for total employment was 2,000,000 less than December's but still the Census Bureau said that unemployment had risen by only 700,000 in that time.

The Bureau explained that total employment includes housewives working part-time, students working during Christmas rushes, and others who are not ordinarily considered part of the working population. If they do work they go on the employment rolls; if they don't they are not counted as unemployed.

Bureau officials admitted their estimate of unemployment was rough. It couldn't be more accurate, they said, because they have had to reduce their staff.

Textiles, clothing, shoes and leather seemed hardest hit, but workers in other fields felt the pinch too. From mid-November to mid-December 12,000 were laid off in steel and iron; 12,000 in furniture; 47,000 in lumber.

Last week the New York Central Railroad laid off 8,100; the Pennsylvania Railroad, 2,500. The United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers (CIO) reported that about 80,000 had lost their jobs in the electrical industry in the last year, mainly since November.

In St. Louis Secretary of Commerce Charles Sawyer told newsmen: "We are

Continued Under the Line on Page 3.

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The call to action

Got fast action

THE financial crisis which NATIONAL GUARDIAN placed before the readers last week still surrounds us.

But thanks to a magnificent, posthaste response from hundreds and hundreds of readers to our front page appeal in last week's issue, the GUARDIAN's prospects for the future are now brighter than they have been at any time since we published our preview issue last summer.

The mail response started coming in on Monday, doubled on Tuesday, and has continued at a gratifying level as the GUARDIAN reached subscribers across the nation.

The money and pledges already advanced by those responding to our appeal for sustaining Guardian Associates, along with additional advances from a few individuals who helped launch the GUARDIAN, guarantee us several more weeks of publication.

THE impending crisis of last week made it necessary for the editors of the GUARDIAN to launch the Associate plan in an unexpected, life-or-death atmosphere. However, the need for mass backing for a publication like the GUARDIAN, for the period required to get on its own feet, would have been presented to our whole readership, crisis or not, within the next few weeks.

Guardian Associates will be asked to advance or pledge $25 a year while the need for financing exists. Guardian Associate groups will be established in every community in which the GUARDIAN has subscribers or circulation.

The Associates will be asked to help the editors of the GUARDIAN extend our readership in their communities; and to guide the editors in the task of keeping the GUARDIAN in step with progressive thought and activity throughout the country. As Guardian Associate groups are established, we hope to be able to free some of our editors and contributors to meet with Associates on home grounds—in home gatherings, forums or whatever ways the Associate groups may decide.

IT IS our hope that Guardian Associates will undertake to set a watch on the American press throughout the country, detailing its shortcomings and lapses of responsibility and, through the columns of the GUARDIAN, providing information and viewpoint which may be excluded from the rest of the press.

A few cold facts about the prospects of the GUARDIAN are also in order. Our present readership is close to 25,000. This readership must be doubled, at least, before the GUARDIAN can look forward to self-sustaining operation. Doubling a readership looks easy: every reader get another reader, and there you are. Practically, it doesn't work out that simply. Circulation-getting is easy at the start, but making circulation stay and pay is a year-round job. That is why we dare not delude ourselves with the prospect of over-night success.

Yet there can be no doubt that among the millions of Americans who mobilized in 1948 for peace, freedom and abundance—and against witch-hunting, profit-grabbing and sword-rattling—there is a readership for an independent publication representing that precise, progressive position with no hedging in 1949.

How the GUARDIAN can best reach and serve such a readership, and how soon, is the immediate problem we hope to work out with the help of our Associates. And one other—the business of staying alive while we reach a sustaining readership.

John T. McManus

Editors of NATIONAL GUARDIAN:
17 Murray St., N. Y. 7, N. Y.

I wish to become a Guardian Associate.

☐ **I enclose $25.**

☐ **I pledge $25, advancing $ . . . . now, the remainder to be contributed at my convenience.**

Name ....

Address ....

THE MAILBAG

"False liberals"

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

I have been noticing a number of complaining letters to the editor about "editorializing in news columns," "lack of objectivity," etc. Hold out against these people! They are false liberals. There is no reason why a liberal, progressive publication should be any more "objective" than any other publication. Why shouldn't liberal publications take sides as much as reactionary ones? They should; they must.

As for editorializing in the news columns: there are probably a number of geniuses, who have time to read, read, read, who are at once able to grasp the multifarious and multitudinous implications of this or that isolated event—the rest of us people aren't geniuses and need to have the implications drawn up together for us. This is not wrong, nor is it "manufacturing" opinion, necessarily. Your news coverage is as good as possible, with the space available; the comment is invaluable. We don't have to accept your interpretation, any more than we accept the **Philadelphia Inquirer's**, etc. But if it accords with our otherwise formed beliefs, why shouldn't we accept it?

You are doing a good job, and now that the **Star** is gone, needed more than ever.

H. David Hammond
U. of Pennsylvania

•

Peril to unity

CLEVELAND, O.

The letter from David and Margaret Toll of Boston (Jan. 24) complains that the GUARDIAN, while highly denunciatory of our own country's foreign policy, neglects to take to task the foreign policy of the U.S.S.R. This reveals that a basic misconception among liberals of the Progressive Party persists.

We must recognize that whether we agree with everything that Russia does is not an issue within the Progressive Party. Any objections we might voice would be ineffectual at best, and at worst could alienate or partly immobilize valuable and vigorous allies.

That every act of any government does not have the unanimous support of so diverse a group as the Progressive Party goes without saying. So what? Our work as Progressives is to destroy the bipartisan foreign policy, not to justify it. Russia's acts may have done nothing to moderate the threat of war which glooms our planet. But neither have they done anything to increase it.

Thomas E. Ullen

•

The UN story

COLCHESTER, VT.

The section on UN is swell. I hope that UN news will be a weekly feature of the GUARDIAN. The article brought UN alive—and millions of Americans are in need of having that done, I'm sure, before they will realize that it is **their** instrument for peace.

Martha D. Kennedy

•

None for Luce

PLACERVILLE, CALIF.

My subscription to **Time** Magazine is about to run out. The vice-president has sent me the usual flood of urgent letters for renewal; but you get my money. I cannot tell you how much I look forward each week to the arrival of the GUARDIAN. I am a poor old broken-down school teacher and it cheers me no end. Just 20 years ago this year I left Stanford University and got my first teaching job in the social service department of a huge Los Angeles high school. Textbook hokum I just couldn't teach and after four years of skirmishes I finally was fired, for teaching acknowledged truths. (Then I got married. It was spring and anyone can marry a teacher in the spring, they say.)

Am still teaching and your paper is an invaluable asset. Wish we could have it in all the schools. How the kids would pounce on it for their "current events" reports.

Charmon Cotton

•

The big issue

BOSTON, MASS.

I have been following with interest the preliminaries to the trial of the 11 Communist leaders (although I can assure you I had to go outside the Boston papers for details). I was shocked at the indictment of these people to begin with because it is such a gross violation of the Bill of Rights.

Since the opening of trial hearings I have been somewhat worried, however. I am sure the defense has an excellent battery of lawyers; I am convinced that the system of jury picking in the Federal courts of New York is wrong, flagrantly wrong. But the judge has indicated that he will rule against the defense in their attempt to prove that a fair trial is impossible under such circumstances.

I don't want to be defeatist, but I think that the defense ought to wind up its presentation and get on with the much larger issue involved. That is the right of a man to advocate a new economic system in America, without intimidation, without arrest, without punishment. Please don't think I want to make martyrs out of the Communists on trial. I think it is rotten that they should be in the dock. But millions of Americans are concerned with the issues in the case and it should be made clear to the Government that the American people won't stand for such abuses to their rights.

Floyd G. Wheatley

•

A man to love

SANTE FE, N.M.

I take several liberal papers, but I think yours covers more news than any of them. Could we have a regular column on what the Progressive Party is doing?

Some men you tolerate, some men you like and once in a lifetime there is a man you love. Such a man is Henry Wallace.

During the campaign he visited our little town and I met him and had a nice talk with him and immediately decided he is a man the people would love, if they were allowed to.

Mrs. J. A. Landenslayer

•

Nice paint job

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

I just saw my first copy of your paper and I wish to congratulate you on having an outstanding progressive paper. We have been needing a nation-wide paper like this for some time and the circulation should grow by leaps and bounds.

Howard E. Garvin
Editor, Union Painter
Painters Local Union 116

•

Facts in the face

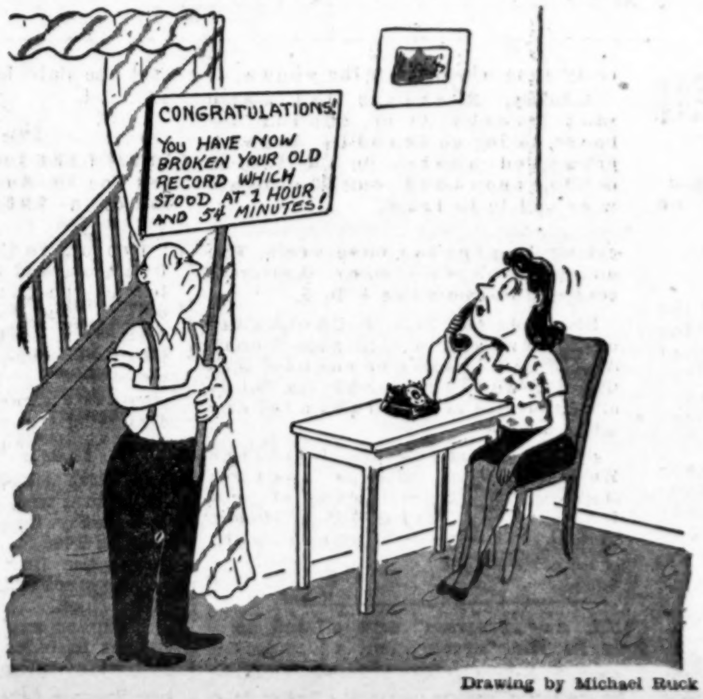
BROOKLYN, N. Y.

I like your paper. I like the work you're doing. If you attach to your mental masthead the slogan "Keep a level head," I'm sure you'll attract more and more people who feel the need of honest news, and who want to look facts in the face.

Give us as much news of the Progressive Party as you can, and as many articles by Henry Wallace, W. E. B. Du Bois, Paul Robeson. Incidentally, I thought the recent piece of Olin Downes was the best paragraph of analytical writing I've read in a long while. Quite in the same class with his better-known writings on music.

Your shopping hints are useful, and your cartoons most effective . . . and please, let's not decide that we must have a comic strip!

Constance Pultz


CONGRATULATIONS!
YOU HAVE NOW BROKEN YOUR OLD RECORD WHICH STOOD AT 1 HOUR AND 54 MINUTES!

Drawing by Michael Ruck

THE NATION

O. John Rogge on the Trenton Case

'The record makes clear the use of force and violence by the police

By O. John Rogge

Second in a series of articles by the former Asst. U.S. Attorney General, who is defending three of the six Negroes condemned to death for "murder" at Trenton, N. J.

THE Supreme Court of the United States has repeatedly condemned confessions not only where obtained by force or fraud but also where obtained after a delay of more than a few hours in bringing the prisoner before a commiting magistrate.

In the case of the Trenton Six, some of the prisoners were held up to four days before being taken before the committing magistrate. And the record, to my mind, makes clear the use of force and fraud by the police.

Parts of the examination of my client Collis English reads as follows (questioning by his attorney at the trial):

Q. Were you questioned by the police at that time?

A. No, I was questioned by some detectives.

Q. And what happened?

A. Well, I was taken upstairs to a council room, they call it. I was supposed to sit down at the council table, and I sat there about five minutes. They gave me a piece of paper and told me to write. But I didn't know what to write because I didn't do nothing. And I didn't write. And he came back and said, "Well, you haven't written on the paper."

So he went out and got two more officers, I don't know their names; they came back and started pushing me around.

Q. What do you mean, "pushing me around"?

A. Well, they had what they call some weapons around there.

Q. Weapons?

A. Yes.

Q. What are they like?

A. Hose, and sticks, and their fists.

Q. What did they do?

A. Well, they knocked you around a couple of times.

Q. Did they strike you?

A. Yes.

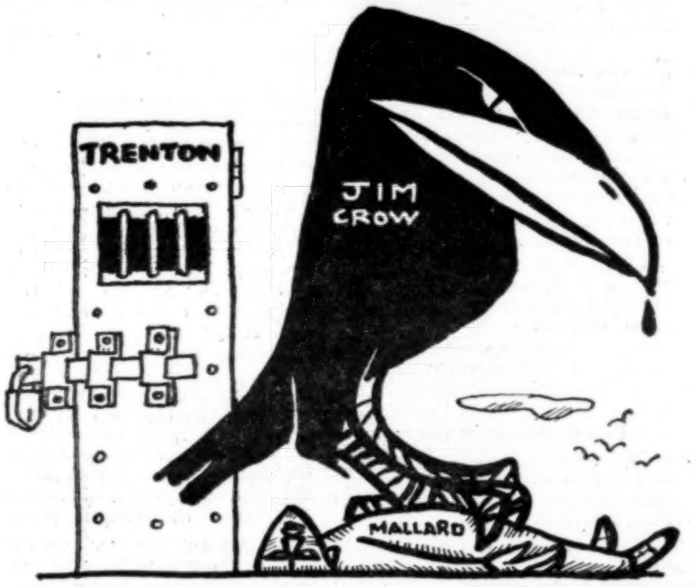
Q. In the face?

A. Yes.

Q. Body?

A. Body and back and in the stomach.

(Continuing.) Well, they went out, and they took me downstairs, and told me they'd be back for me in 15 minutes. I laid on the cell block down there about 15 minutes. Ten minutes later they came back; I went upstairs to take the second beating. I took it. Around 15 minutes later. . . .



Drawing by George Korf

Q. How long did they talk to you in the courtroom?

A. Say about three-quarters of an hour, or an hour, maybe an hour and a half, maybe a little more; I don't know exactly.

Q. How many officers were present?

A. There was Lichtfuhs, Ammann, Detective Dawson.

Q. Was Sergeant Creeden there (indicating)?

A. Yes, he come in there, too.

Q. Now, the officers who were present, Mr. English: were they wearing any weapons?

A. Yes.

Q. What kind of weapons?

A. They had pistols.

Q. Pistols on?

A. Pistols, and they call them night blackjacks, they call them nightsticks.

Q. Well now, why did you talk to the officers?

A. I knowed what I was going to git, that's the only reason I talked. But I didn't tell them nothing about the murder, whatever they said, I did not say it.

Q. What were you going to get; what did you think you were going to get?

A. There was only one thing I knew I'd get: a beating.

Q. Were you questioned after 11 o'clock?

A. Yes.

Q. By whom?

A. I was taken into the private office downstairs, Police Headquarters. I was questioned by Delate and — Stanley was there, and a couple more officers, I don't know their names.

Q. Now, up until that time had any of the officers struck you?

A. Yes.

Q. Who?

A. Dawson. I was struck in the Courtroom.

Q. He hit you while you were in the Courtroom?

A. Yes.

Q. What did he hit you with?

A. The back of his hand.

Q. Did he say anything at the time he hit you?

A. Yes.

Q. What did he say?

A. He said: "You are going to tell me about this, or else you are going to get some more."

ON cross examination by the State's Prosecutor he stuck to his story:

Q. I don't want the time. I want the approximate time. How long a period after you came into the First District were you struck this blow?

A. Couldn't tell you.

Q. You don't know?

A. I know I was struck: that's all.

Q. That is the only thing you remember?

A. Yes. As far as I know.

Q. Collis, you said you were in the Army?

A. Navy.

Q. Or Navy. As a matter of fact you were working for the Navy; you weren't in the Navy?

A. I was in the Navy.

Q. Did you have a serial number?

A. Yep: 8151879.

Q. And where were you stationed?

A. Seattle, Washington

Q. Now tell us: did you scream or yell when you were hit this blow?

A. I said ouch.

Q. You did say that; did you say it very loud?

A. No.

SPACE forbids my going into all the details of the brutality in the case of this and the other defendants. The record is full of talk of clubs, guns, slaps, blows — yes, and even drugged cigarettes.

We do not have to rely on the words of the defendants themselves. We have the words of a reputable member of the Bar of New Jersey, Harold Simandl, who was called into the case to represent one of the defendants, McKinley Forrest.

His testimony, given under oath at the trial in the Lower Court, to my mind presents a shocking confirmation of the charges made by these defendants against the system of "Jersey Justice" as practiced by police officials in that area:

"Forrest, McKinley Forrest, was in a crouched position, as I saw it, and he came out and he peered and he reached his hand out as if groping toward his brother, as if he didn't expect to actually touch anything when he was putting his hand out. And then he, more or less surprised, said 'It is you.'

"And he started to get ahold of his hand and his hands trembled, and then he went up to his face and he kept repeating that. He said: 'It is you, it is you.'

"And he went back and he darted his head back and forth as if there was something behind him, and he started to mumble incoherently about the walls of this place out of which he had come. And he complained about the smell: 'Smell it! Smell it!'

"I looked into this place, and there was a mattress on the floor and there was some vomit to one side of the mattress, and there was food thrown indiscriminately around the floor. And then he sort of rambled, I would say, you couldn't catch very much as to what he was saying, and his brother told him that he had come down there, and with a lawyer, had come down there to help him."

I THINK I do not need to comment further on this matter of confessions. There are good legal points involved and the Supreme Court has intervened time and again in this field on behalf of defendants.

In this article I have restrained my comments; I have posed, rather, a serious moral question — how long can this kind of thing happen in our democracy?

News Spreads

Prospects for freeing the Trenton Six looked brighter last week.

The National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People and the National Lawyers Guild passed resolutions to aid the appeal. Both will prepare friend-of-the-court briefs to be submitted to the New Jersey Supreme Court.

The N. Y. **Post Home News** on Feb. 6 became the first daily newspaper to report the case fully.

Arthur Gaeth, broadcasting under sponsorship of the United Electrical Workers (CIO), will devote his annual Negro History Work program to the case (Feb. 14, ABC, 10 p. m.)

NATIONAL ROUNDUP

Continued from Page one.

going through a period of some readjustment, but certainly there is no cause for alarm."

On the Hill

CONGRESS WEEK. On Capitol Hill the Joint Congressional Committee on the Economic Report heard Secretary of Agriculture Charles F. Brannan say that he thought 1949 would be a good year; but if the bust came, it would cost the nation $80,000,000,000.

The Senate Banking Committee, concerned with immediate realities, instituted an investigation to find out why the drop in commodity prices on the exchange was not reflected in the prices on grocery shelves.

REPEAL? After two weeks of hearings before the Senate Labor Committee on repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law, anti-labor strategists had won at least one victory: they had tossed the Democrats' time schedule out the window.

Actually, Republicans had staged what amounted to an informal filibuster, taking up Committee time with grandstand speeches. As the Feb. 10 deadline approached, some 39 witnesses were still to be heard.

Unanimously, the Committee voted to extend hearings two more weeks. The unanimity surprised many. Democrats control the committee 8 to 5.

Sen. Robert A. Taft (R-Ohio), father of the law, was in high good humor. At a press conference he predicted that Congress would end up with two-thirds of the present act written into the new labor law.

A press release from the United Mine Workers, written with an eloquence that suggested the authorship of John L. Lewis himself, called Taft a "Lucifer of labor relations" and urged outright repeal of the act before any new labor legislation was written.

In the House, Chairman John Lesinski of the Labor Committee was in no hurry. A subcommittee of 8 Democrats and 5 Republicans had been named to conduct hearings on the labor law. But the date for starting hadn't even been set.

For witches

"DOWN THE DRAIN." The House granted the Un-American Activities Committee a $200,000 appropriation on Wednesday, as requested.

One man in Congress sought to make Democrats redeem a campaign pledge to halt the circus antics of the Committee: New York's Labor Party Representative Marcantonio tried and failed to block the appropriation in committee.

When it came to the House floor he demanded and got a roll call vote. Only 28 Congressmen voted with him; 352 voted yes.

"Another Democratic promise has gone down the drain," said Marcantonio. Meanwhile the trial of Rep. J. Parnell Thomas, former Republican chairman of the Committee, on salary kickback charges was postponed once more—this time to March 9.

Marshall money

DAY OF RECKONING. Last Tuesday the Foreign Affairs Committees of both the Senate and the House met jointly. Secretary of State Dean Acheson and Economic Recovery Administrator Paul G. Hoffman formally asked for the staggering sum of $5,580,000,000 to pay for the Marshall Plan through June, 1950. The Marshall Plan, Acheson said, was building strong human beings in Europe. (European beneficiaries have said the amount was inadequate.)

Next day the Senate Committee settled down to questioning Hoffman. It seemed quite pleased with his answers, even when he announced that he would prefer a rise in taxes to a cut in Marshall Plan funds.

Without referring to our late enemy, Germany, (see "The Hungry World," p. 8), Hoffman talked of "tentative allotments" to Great Britain ($1,259,900,000) and France ($1,132,400,000).

Reorganization

STREAMLINED U. S. In a 356 to 9 vote the House paved the way for a raft of measures to come from the Hoover Commission, providing for reorganiz-

Continued Under the Line on next page.

The Communist trial

'If it succeeds, only a civil war could change our system'

By Harry F. Ward

This is the second in a series of statements from various points of view on the trial of 11 U.S. Communist leaders. Dr. Ward, professor emeritus of Union Theological Seminary, was for 20 years chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union, of which Arthur Garfield Hays, who gave his views last week, is now counsel.

THE trial of the Communist leaders has a twofold historic significance. It is an attempt to stop the advocating and teaching of political and economic ideas. If it succeeds the result will be that our economic system can be changed only by civil war.

Contrary to the excretions of the vermin that infest a part of our air waves, these men are not charged with plotting to overthrow our government by force and violence. Nor with just teaching and advocating "the duty and necessity" of such overthrow.

The indictment asserts they did this by organizing the Communist Party based upon, and dedicated to, "the Marxist-Leninist principles of the overthrow etc."

Since the party and its publications and schools exist, and since they do advocate and teach the principles of Marxism-Leninism, otherwise known as scientific socialism, it is these principles which are on trial.

THE objective of the prosecution is not merely to destroy a political party, but to make illegal the study and propagation of a school of thought. Our capitalist democracy has produced the successor to the medieval Inquisition, as that period produced the offspring of the attempt by Imperial Rome to blot out with the blood of his followers the teachings of the carpenter of Nazareth.

This is a manifold enlargement of the ignorance, the prejudices, the passions, which tried in the famous "monkey trial" of Tennessee to stop the study and teaching of Darwinism. If it can succeed, recent history shows it will not stop at the Communists.

The **New York Times** editorially believes most people will agree that "a paralysis strike" against the people of the nation is "tantamount to a strike against their government." The prosecutor who argues that the advocacy of such a strike involves the advocacy of force and violence will have an easier course in the courts than those who contend that about Marxism-Leninism.

IN ancient Rome it was proclaimed that the religion of Jesus and the great Hebrew prophets he fulfilled were turning the world upside down. The successors to those early "subversives" have always been regarded as dangerous to the existing order.

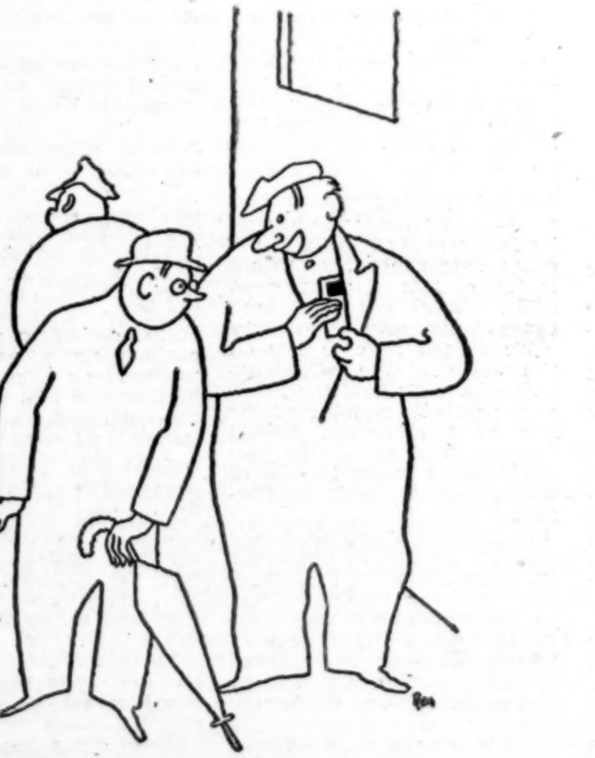
When our economic system stands in more danger of rejection by the American people than it does now, when passions mount correspondingly higher, it will not be difficult, from the Bible itself, to advance the same reasons in court for stopping the advocacy and teaching of this kind of religion that are now being used against "the principles of Marxism-Leninism."

The clauses of the Smith Act under which the indictment against the Communist leaders was drawn absolutely nullify the section of the First Article of the Bill of Rights which was designed to perpetuate freedom to express and circulate political and economic ideas. If that can be done, then by all the logic of history the section which guarantees the "free exercise of religion" will not long remain in effect.

THE original purpose of the Bill of Rights, as the records of the Constitutional Convention clearly show, was to enable the people to change the economic order when property rights became repressive of human rights. It provided a possible transition from one economic order to another without destructive violence.

If the Supreme Court, either by decision or refusal to hear the case, upholds this prosecution and the act under which it operates, then the democratic road of peaceful change is closed. If the people do not then speedily reopen it by political action there is no way but civil war to make the transition from our present economic order to a more efficient, just and cooperative way of meeting our material and cultural needs.

That is the stake which everyone who believes in progressive democracy has in this present historic trial.



"Psst, buddy! Copy of the Bill of Rights?"

Max Werner

Norway: She's a liability to Atlantic Pact Plan

MILITARY planners who today are trying to design a pattern of security for the small European countries are facing insurmountable obstacles. Soon they will draw the conclusion that this security cannot be given by military means.

Max Werner

The planners must know that Norway is militarily probably the weakest country in Europe. With an area bigger than Italy, her population and army are smaller than those of Denmark. Norway has practically no navy and no aviation, and an army of only 15,000 militiamen, the smallest army among Europe's small countries.

Without military tradition, military experience, organization and war industry, Norway cannot be easily militarized. Norwegian troops fought valiantly against the German invasion in April, 1940, yet they were incapable of any sustained resistance against superior land power.

INDEFENSIBLE. With this knowledge, what military strengthening of Norway can be planned? Erecting of a Maginot Line in the Arctic facing the Soviet frontier is obviously absurd. Expansion of the army is no solution either—what if Norway had two or three divisions instead of one? If a Great Power like Great Britain today maintains only several hundred modern combat planes (France almost none)—the underpopulated and poor Norway could keep only very few.

In terms of military geography Norway is an island not only in relation to the U.S. and Britain, but to the core of Western Europe. While Russia has land access to Norway, Western Europe has not. Norway can therefore be militarily relieved from the West by an expeditionary force, by troop landings only.

Since the complete breakdown of British-French landing attempts in Norway in April and May of 1940, no strategic imagination can chart this type of allied help.

Sweden holds the key to Norway's strategic position—she is the backbone of Norwegian defense. But for Sweden the North Atlantic Pact and a Scandinavian alliance are incompatible: Norway must therefore choose between two defense systems.

BRITISH LIABILITY. The little Nordic people of fishermen, sailors and workers cannot find an easy way in postwar Europe. Their security is obviously insoluble by military means. With their bare minimum of land power the U.S. and Great Britain cannot protect Norway on land. Within a North Atlantic alliance she cannot count on priority in military supply.

Militarily, Norway would be more a British than an American liability. But Britain cannot give any priority to the defense of Norway.

All British military experts agree today that due to her own exhaustion, the development of super-weapons and the irremediable military weakening of France, Britain has today less military security than in 1939. If Great Britain with all her war experiences and resources and the backing of U.S. has no military security, Norway cannot expect too much from the Atlantic Pact either.

NATIONAL ROUNDUP

Continued from preceding page.

ing and streamlining the U.S. government.

The measure passed by the House and sent to the Senate would allow any reorganization plan submitted by the President to become operative after 60 days unless both House and Senate join to veto it.

Granting the President this authority is a preliminary to actual proposals for reorganization to be submitted by the Hoover Commission in the form of some 15 separate reports.

Trial of the 11

ALL week long Judge Harold R. Medina sat in his red-backed swivel chair in New York's Federal Court. He was trying the case against the 11 leaders of the Communist Party charged with spreading Marxism. Attorneys for the 11 were still seeking to demonstrate that juries in the district were chosen almost exclusively from upper-income groups; that manual workers and minority groups were excluded; and that therefore a fair trial was impossible.

Defense attorneys produced a report drawn up for the Administrative Office of the United States Courts. They brought the author of the report, Leland Tolman, to the stand, but Judge Medina refused to allow any cross-examination concerning the report.

Harry Sacher, quick and caustic pleader for the accused, tried again and again to clarify the points of the report and to question its author on his sources. Prosecutor F. X. McGohey objected to every question put by the defense. And regularly would come the answer from the judge: "Sustained." Once, McGohey said: "I did not understand the defense's question."

Said Judge Medina: "Do you object? Sustained."

EXCLUSIVE. Here are excerpts from the report on which the defense was not allowed to examine its own witness:

"The registry list of voters had previously been the primary source of names. It was decided to supplement this by other more select materials. Chief among these was the subscription edition of the New York City telephone directory arranged by street numbers and location rather than alphabetically by names. This directory is especially valuable since it permits the jury clerk to select names from neighborhoods where he knows persons who are most likely to be suitable material reside. "Who's Who in New York," "Poor's Directory of Directors," "The Engineer's Directory," "The Social Register" **and various college and university alumni directories are also extensively used. . . . It was decided not to accept relief workers or women as volunteer jurors."**

Membership

"ARE YOU, OR . . ." The prosecution cross-examined the defense's expert, Prof. Doxey Wilkerson, director of faculty and curriculum at the Jefferson School of Social Sciences. Wilkerson admitted that he had classed some proprietors of small businesses as "executives" but most, he said, he had listed as manual workers, even though they owned the shops they worked in. Much of the cross-examination centered about Prof. Wilkerson's membership in the Communist Party. Prosecutor McGohey gave as his reason for that line of questioning: (1) to test the witness's credibility, and (2) "in case the witness had ever testified otherwise." Though privately he has said that he is a Communist, Prof. Wilkerson at first declined to answer on the stand, citing his constitutional right to refuse to incriminate himself. When ordered by the judge to answer, he said he was a member of the party, but rejected more detailed questions as irrelevant.

On Friday afternoon the judge called for full statements from the defense on what further they expected to prove and how they were going to prove it. The statements were to be submitted this morning. He told newsmen he would strike out whatever he thought unnecessary in the defense plan, and if he thought all of it unnecessary he would rule on the entire jury challenge at once.

A "Provisional Committee for A

Continued Under the Line on next page.

Washington week

Democrats play Hyde-and-go-Jekyll with civil rights

By John B. Stone

WASHINGTON

THE pledge of President Truman and the Democratic Party to bring equal rights to Negroes took on a rather shabby look this Lincoln's birthday as the party of Jefferson came into headlong collision with the contradictory elements of its own being.

The Senate rules committee, by a vote of 10 to 3 (with three Democrats, Stennis of Mississippi, Long of Louisiana and Hunt of Wyoming in the opposition), adopted a less than milk strong resolution calling for a rules change to limit Senate debate by a vote of two thirds of the Senators voting.

Efforts of Sen. Francis Myers (D-Pa.) and Sen. Wayne Morse (R-Ore.) to push a rule shutting off debate by a simple majority were smothered.

ONE TIME. The Senate already has a rule shutting off debate by two-thirds vote and it has worked only once. The new resolution would only extend the rule to cover motions to take up new bills and amendments to the Journal—tricks used in the past to filibuster.

But a realistic tabulation of Senators shows that there is little likelihood that the broadened two-thirds rule will work any better than has the old one. If all 96 Senators were present it would take 33 votes to block cloture.

The Southern states alone can muster 28 votes and in any matters affecting anti-poll tax laws, anti-lynch laws or a fair employment practices law, the Southerners can count on at least a dozen backers from the North.

SHRUG IT OFF. The Administration itself is perfectly aware of the retreat. Scott Lucas, Senate floor leader, has been explaining to those who took Truman seriously last fall, that "we can't do anything else right now."

Truth of the matter is that the Taft-Hartley repealer, even weakened as it appears to be now, could not pass the Senate without support of some Southerners. Nor could the ratification of the North Atlantic Pact; nor the $5 billions plus in new Marshall Plan money; nor the huge military appropriations.

So the Administration does not dare to press for a rule in the Senate to shut off debate and make passage of civil rights legislation possible, until it gets all its other measures passed. By that time it would be too late. Any kind of a filibuster could block FEPC in a last month session.

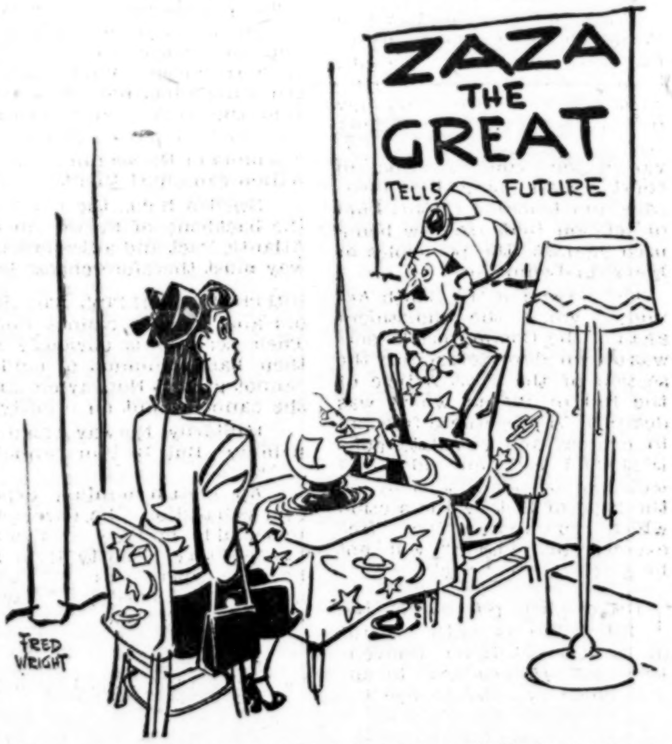
THE CONTRADICTION. It became increasingly apparent as the week rolled on that so long as Truman and his party allow senators and representatives from Southern states to be elected by a minority vote through the machinery of excluding Negro and poor white residents, there can be no real progress towards legislation wiping out discrimination.

Sen. Hunt of Wyoming—the one Westerner who voted against even adoption of the meaningless compromise motion in the Rules Committee—let the cat out of the bag when he told the GUARDIAN:

"I'm not against limitation of debate. I'm for it. But this isn't the right time. The Administration needs the votes of these Southerners on other measures. We can't afford to make them mad."

It was an open question whether the "right time" would ever come until a frankly open fight against poll taxes, violence against minorities and discrimination in employment is made at the grass roots level.

That's something the Democratic party hasn't ever dared to do—even though Henry Wallace showed them last fall that it can be done.



"Never mind the tall-dark-and-handsome stuff—just tell me when I'm going to land a job."

Henry A. Wallace

A program to give Negroes citizenship

(Excerpt from a speech at the Rally to End Segregation and Discrimination, Metropolitan Baptist Church, Washington, D. C., last Friday.)

CONGRESS has now been in session for almost two months. Neither Republicans nor Democrats have pressed for enactment of a single bill to repeal the poll tax or to enact any guarantees of civil rights.

Neither party has disavowed the bill recently passed by Georgia's House of Delegates placing 50 questions in the hands of Georgia's election officials for the announced purpose of disfranchising Negro voters.

Returned to the Congress every two years with virtually no opposition from their disfranchised citizens, the representatives of poll tax states wield control over national legislation. Thus the poll tax and other restrictions of the right to vote become a national problem.

WE MUST demand that Congress act upon the 14th Amendment, which provides that the number of congressmen to which any states is entitled shall be reduced in proportion to the number of citizens whose right to vote was abridged or denied.

This Amendment has been part of the Constitution for more than 80 years, but Southern states continue by new and illegal devices to deny vast numbers of their citizens the right to vote.

COUNTLESS millions voted for adequate and equal housing for all. No body of Americans has been deprived of adequate and equal shelter for as many years as have been the Negro people. The Negro ghettos radiate north and south from the nation's capital to almost every hamlet, town and city in the country.

Adjacent to every Negro ghetto is the ghetto of the poor, the slums of the ill housed. Fifteen million homes are needed to eradicate the accumulation of illness and rot which infests every ghetto and slum.

The promises of the victors have shrunken to politician's size. We are now promised 1,500,000 homes to be built over a period of seven years.

But even this will not give us equal and unsegregated houses. It is the official practice of at least one federal agency to refuse loans for unsegregated housing programs. And by the silence of all other federal agencies on this question, we know that they intend the jimcrow status quo to remain.

WE MUST insist that all Federal grants should be withheld from any state that practices segregation or provides unequal facilities to its Negro citizens.

Those who profit from jimcrow cry that their "honorable" intentions towards the Negro are frustrated by the threat of war.

Before we attempt to bring democracy to the entire world, shouldn't we permit it to flourish in the United States?

THE following statement was proposed for inclusion in the United Nations Human Rights Charter: "Any advocacey of national, racial, or religious hostility that constitutes an incitement to violence shall be prohibited by the law of the state."

But that statement was not introduced by the United States delegate to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights. To the contrary, it was rejected by that delegate.

We fear that it is not democracy that our administration and its Republican supporters bring to the world.

NATIONAL ROUNDUP

Continued from preceding page.

Democratic Jury System" was formed last week and announced a conference for today at New York's Hotel Diplomat. American Labor Party clubs were among those organizations sending delegates.

Little flower

DETROITERS were set slightly agog early this month by front-paged denials from all parties concerned that Father Chairles E. Coughlin, pastor of the Shrine of the Little Flower, had ever alienated the affections of Mrs. Mary Gariepy.

Coughlin was the founder of the magazine Social Justice, **which was cited by the Post Office during the war for containing seditious material.**

The charge was first broadcast by Drew Pearson, who said that Dr. Bernard F. Gariepy defended himself in a tax exasion suit by declaring he received $68,000 from Father Coughlin in an out-of-court settlement of an alienation charge.

Detroit newspapers wouldn't touch the story until they had secured statements from the doctor, the priest and the woman in the case. Then they gave it a sensational play.

The doctor denied the story out of hand. His former wife said she was "utterly amazed." Said Father Coughlin: "A Pearsonian lie."

But a self-imposed consorship kept the story confined to Detroit. Not one of the three big news wire services would handle it.

WORLD ROUNDUP

Mindszenty—life

IN the courthouse on Marko St. in Budapest last week, Joseph Cardinal Mindszenty, a small man in a black cassock, appealed from a sentence of life imprisonment. He had confessed to consulting with American officials among others about a restoration of the Hapsburg dynasty, and to large-scale black market dealings in currency.

The court explained that it had spared the Cardinal's life because of his expressions of regret, and because he had been led on in his hope for war and a return of the monarchy, by U. S. Minister Selden Chapin. (Chapin said this was "nonsense and pure fantasy.")

All but one of the co-defendants also appealed. Only the Cardinal's secretary, Andras Zakar, refused to appeal from his sentence of six years.

Prince Paul Esterhazy, once the biggest private landlord in the country, looked like an aristocrat out of Hungary's history. He munched ham sandwiches from time to time during the trial, and his secretary, 62-year-old Gabor Horvath, took the blame for all of the Prince's doings.

Prince accepts

"I ACQUIESCE." The Prince generously took back the blame. He clicked his heels with old-world elegance and said that he had given Horvath all his instructions.

Taking his sentence of 15 years' imprisonment, the Prince said: "I will not appeal. I acquiesce." But his attorney filed an appeal anyway.

Rev. Bela Ispanky was sentenced to life imprisonment; Justin Baranyay, professor of Church law and ardent royalist, to 15 years; Rev. Miklos Nagy, to three years; Laszlo Toth, a journalist, to 10 years.

All but Zakar were represented by attorneys of their own choice. Zakar's defense was handled by a state-appointed attorney.

WORLD WATCHES. The excitement of the trial traveled beyond the courthouse, beyond Budapest and flared into headlines in every major paper of Europe and the U. S. The case became a factor in the cold war and a rallying point for anti-radical crusades in the U. S.

Newspapers featured photos of the Cardinal with staring vacant eyes. They contrasted them with earlier pictures taken at a gentler time, and the comment was that the Primate was clearly drugged. The Voice of America named the drug as scopolamin.

News photographers knew the effect of flashbulbs on the pupil of the eye. Those familiar with the Primate knew

Continued Under the Line on next page.

An editorial

Treason enthroned

IF DURING the past week you have had more strongly than usual the uneasy sensation of being in a lunatic asylum, we can shake your hand.

Nothing since the Russian Revolution has aroused the "voices of America" to such sound and fury as the trial and conviction of Cardinal Mindszenty for treason to the Hungarian Republic.

In its solemn disregard of facts and of reason, the propaganda compares with the fantasies about "international Jewish Marxist bankers" which paved the way for Hitler.

IN A socialist state black-marketing in currency, which Mindszenty freely admits, is a crime of the utmost seriousness. The documentary evidence of his treason has been published.

Every intelligent person knows that there is no drug which will make a Cardinal or a coalheaver tell self-accusatory lies in court, nor cause his lawyer to repeat the same admissions. The "drug" in question was the evidence in black and white, which it would have been futile to deny.

The storms of protests against "religious persecution" in Hungary are unadulterated and homogenized hogwash. The Communist government of Hungary has leaned over backwards to respect the rights of the Church within the American-type framework of Church-State separation, as Miss Grossberg's article on this page shows.

THE spectacle of little boys being marched in to hear an inflammatory sermon on the case by another Cardinal in New York is sickening to all who seek to live by the words of the carpenter in Galilee.

But the violence of the attack shows how hollow and without basis in reason or morals it is. As long as the American people remain rational, they can remain immune to such attacks.

Reason will not let us be sidetracked into fruitless anger against a Church or the hierarchy of that Church. We must remember that the words of Cardinal Spellman are not merely the words of the Vatican. They are part of a pattern that centers in the great monopoly industries and our own State Department.

WHEN Cardinal Spellman says that "rebellion to tyrants (i.e., to socialism) is obedience to God," he is speaking for "America" as the outside world conceives it—for all who are making the policy of America today.

If there is no record of his having called for rebellion to Mussolini in 1924 and to Hitler in 1933—if he had no word to say against the slaughter of Protestant and even Catholic clergy in Spain in 1936-38—neither are our monopolists, our President or our Secretary of State on record with such appeals and protests.

WHAT has been made clear is that the "America" of the great monopoly interests is now openly and unashamedly in the business of promoting, enthroning and even deifying treason in every country where economic power has been taken out of private hands.

The State Dept. thinks nothing of sending a Russian traitor, Kravchenko, to Paris under false identity papers to do its propaganda work there; while the Catholic hierarchy in America gives haven to an Elizabeth Bentley, a confessed treasonist in our own country.

The pressure that is being placed on strategic citizens of socialist countries to "purify" themselves by treason is terrific. Our Intelligence service is working hand in glove with multi-millionaire publishers, who provide the bait in the form of contracts for Iron Curtain "exposes." One publisher, to our knowledge, has told U. S. Intelligence that he will pay $100,000 for "a member of the Soviet Politburo." Peter Pirogov, deserter from the Russian Air Force, says he expects to make $1,000,000 out of an "expose" book.

How much has this sort of thing to do with religion, or with the America that lives outside of quotes? A study of John Rogge's article on p. 3 may be useful in weighing who and what is religious.

The Editors.

THE WORLD

Behind the Struggle in Hungary

Church has been st of its secular powe

By Lynn Grossberg

THE trial and conviction of Cardinal Primate Joseph Mindszenty on the charge of plotting to restore the monarchy in collaboration with Otto Hapsburg, now residing in the United States, climaxes a struggle which has gone on since the Red Army's liberation of Hungary.

For centuries the "Apostolic Kings" of Hungary had always consulted the Church before taking important political decisions. Owning 900,000 of the country's 16,000,000 arable acres, the Church was Hungary's first and mightiest landlord.

The land reform (fall of 1945) and the nationalization of schools, following on the Hapsburg dynasty's downfall, drastically reduced the Church's power.

RESISTANCE. Hungary's postwar government—then made up of a number of parties, now dominated by the Communists—apportioned land to 700,000 landless peasants. The huge Church holdings were not spared, but the episcopacies were allowed to retain 300 acres, and the lower clergy was affected favorably.

When Mindszenty became Primate in September 1945, in his first pastoral letter he condemned the land reform, opposed the republican form of government and emphasized the legal continuity of the Horthy regime and the Hapsburgs. He advocated the liberation of war criminals for the reconciliation of souls.

He was the only leading Hungarian churchman who refused to sign a proclamation calling for peace and reconciliation among the various religious groups. His consistent opposition to the government was typified by his column written for the **New York Herald Tribune** slandering his country and its government, at the same time that Foreign Minister Janos Gyongyosi was pleading the cause of Hungary at the peace conference in Paris.

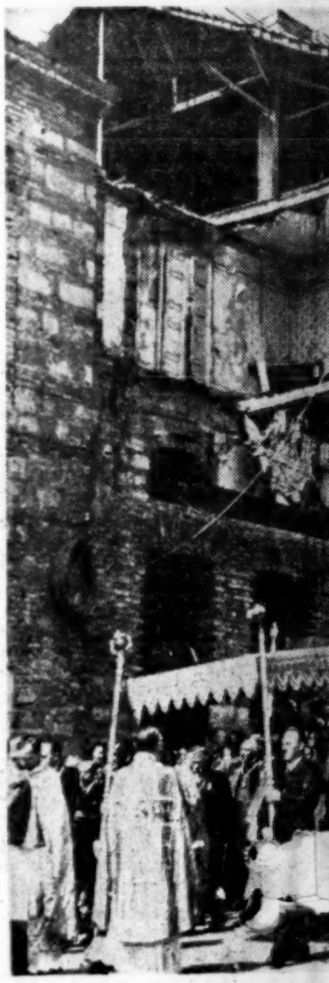
PULPIT SABOTAGE. The Primate went to great lengths to keep Catholic institutions and organizations from working with those of the Hugarian government.

For example, the Communist government has sought to instill in its people a sense of unity and common purpose through the celebration of such historical events as the 1848 War of Independence, by coordinating every political party and social group in the towns and village for nation-wide festivities. Mindszenty prohibited pupils of Church-sponsored schools and religious organizations from taking part in the committees.

It wore rather heavily on a government organized on the strength of the laboring class when, in a nationwide production drive started to raise the living standards of the population, Primate Mindszenty's clergymen preached from the pulpits: "You shall leave the maddening toil of laboring. Only the life of a draught ox is absorbed in labor."

When the Hungarian youth movement joined in building the channel between the Danube and the Tisza rivers—one of the greatest undertakings since the war—Mindszenty forbade the pupils of Church-sponsored schools to participate.

INNER CONFLICT. Mindszenty threatened with excommunication from the Church all those Catholic teachers who would participate in meetings of the



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Another day

THROUGHOUT New England, the Jeffersonian fight against the political domination of the clergy was pronounced an attack on "religion" under the direction of the "anti-Christ" in the White House. When the Jeffersonians of Vermont passed a religious liberty bill, the **Dartmouth Gazette** cited it as "a striking instance of the pernicious and direful, the infernal consequences to which the leveling spirit of democracy must invariably tend." . . . When in Massachusetts the Jeffersonians sponsored a religious liberty bill . . . their action was clamorously denounced as "a war on property and religion."

. . . It was Hamilton's thought to mobilize all these hates . . . and to alarm the Christian masses with the fear that the triumph of the **democratic** principles of Jefferson would mean the downfall of the religion of Jesus Christ.

—From **Jefferson in Power,** by Claude G. Bowers.

WORLD ROUNDUP

Continued from preceding page.

that he had never before permitted photographers to use flash-bulbs in his presence.

Medical authorities admitted there was no chemical that could force a man to tell a lie. One expert said that a drugged priest might recite the Sermon on the Mount but not a full confession of crimes if he had not committed them.

Vatican reaction

WITCHCRAFT. Some Vatican authorities abandoned the charge of drugs and accused the Hungarian officials of "psychic crucifixion," which sounded to many like witchcraft. GUARDIAN sources reported that the Vatican was quite disappointed in the Cardinal's showing in court. As the week ended officials there were still trying to gather evidence to disprove the black market charges.

One thing that puzzled many observers on both sides of the case was the damaging evidence which Mindszenty kept in the cellar of his palace. It lay in its metal cylinder on the table in the courtroom throughout the trial.

An explanation offered in Budapest was that high churchmen customarily retain every document of their careers since these may be necessary for canonization some day.

Start of crusade

CRUSADE. Official and vocal U. S. seemed untroubled by the confessions, the evidence, the medical scoffing at "lie drug" theories. From copy desk, pulpit and government office came torrential protests naming Mindszenty a martyr whose crucifixion was to become the start of a crusade.

On Sunday in New York boy scouts paraded down Fifth Avenue to St. Patrick's Cathedral, where Francis Cardinal Spellman said: "How long are we free-minded, fair-minded, freedom-loving Americans going to allow these same fiendish Communists to drug us with their own propaganda and our own apathy?"

On Wednesday crowds gathered at New York's City Hall, summoned by a Committee to Free Cardinal Mindszenty. A picket sign held by one demonstrator read: "Mindszenty Trial is the Dreyfus Case of Hungary."

The picketer had apparently forgotten that an Esterhazy, ancestor of the Cardinal's princely co-defendant, was among those who framed Dreyfus in that celebrated anti-Semitic scandal of the last century.

The crowd was in no mood for history. They knelt on the steps of City Hall and prayed. Finally they were urged to move on lest they create a precedent.

"Infamous"

SICK AT INFAMY. Early Wednesday morning Cardinal Spellman again urged some undefined action against Communists everywhere. Later in the day Secretary of State Acheson said the trial had "sickened and horrified" the people of the U. S. On Thursday President Truman called it "infamous."

There was talk of taking the matter to the U. N. Protests poured in from State Legislatures. The Hungarian Consul in New York resigned and consular clerks in other cities went with him.

Few newspapers refrained from the editorial chorus of outrage, which became deafening as the week wore on. Rep. Andrew L. Somers (D-N.Y.) was prepared to act single-handed if need be. In a cable to Hungarian Deputy Premier Rakosi he threatened that he would "create within your country an underground movement which will mean eventual destruction of your government as now composed."

While many Protestants and some Jewish clergymen echoed Spellman's sentiments, Dr. B. F. Lamb, president of the Ohio Council of Churches, declared the Catholic hierarchy to be "a greater menace" than Communism. "The Roman Catholic Church is a fascist organization that tells its people what to do and they do it," he said.

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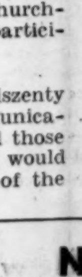

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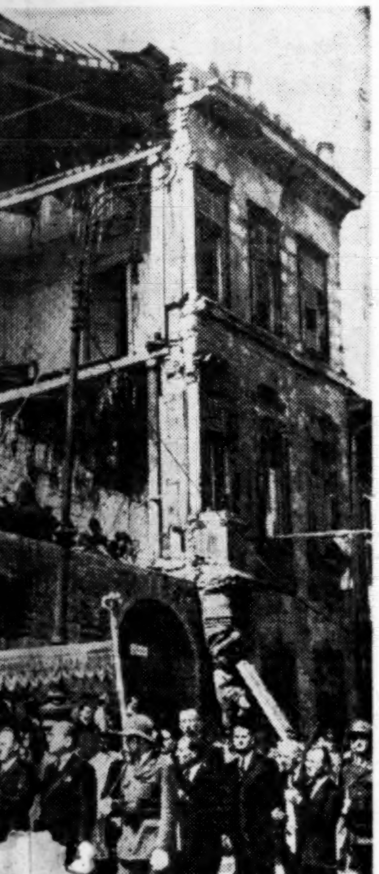

Christi Day procession in Budapest, bed out buildings. The procession last , and it was the common feeling that otest against the Government extend- tholic schools. There was no attempt to curtail the demonstration.

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Teachers' Union discussing the nationalization issue.

When the **Magyar Nemzet,** the daily of the Independent Hungarian Democratic party (the opposition party of Father Balogh, formerly Under Secretary of State) came out with an editorial critical of Mindszenty, he threatened excommunication if the statements were not rescinded.

Conflicts between the government-inspired movements and the Church set up a conflict in the Catholics themselves. They were torn between appeals to their patriotism and faithful adherence to the Church dictate. Since over half the population is Catholic, it seems the Primate must have lost some of his hold for the government to have dared to take its present step.

The high clergy draws its salary from the state. Mindszenty's salary was twice as high as the Prime Minister's.

SCHOOL REFORM. Sixty percent of Hungary's schools were formerly Church-sponsored, and only 20% of all schools were not Catholic-controlled. Last fall the government took over supervision of all the schools save the seminaries, but at the same time endorsed compulsory religious education in the schools and guaranteed religious freedom.

Figures released by the Hungarian government show that the state budget for the year of 1947-48 provided 141,929,653 forints for various purposes to the churches, of which the Roman Catholic Church received 63.3%. This goes for instructors' salaries (including salaries of priests and school teachers of religious classes), for equipment of Catholic Church organizations and rebuilding of Church buildings. During the 1947 paper shortage 45% of all publications were ecclesiastic.

SECULAR POWER GONE. With loss of its political power through alliance with the Hapsburg monarchy, then of economic power exercised through control of vast lands, and finally of the doorway to the mind through the schools, the Church loses the foundation on which it has stood for centuries.

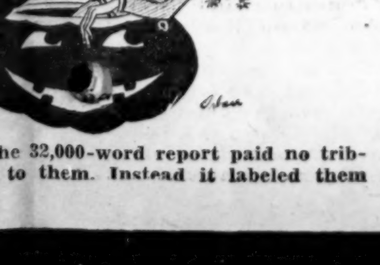
The hierarchy has been firmly convinced that it must resist any Communist inroads, regardless of the merits of any particular action.

With the conviction of Cardinal Mindszenty, the most powerful opponent of the new movement, Hungary has become a country where the Catholic Church must rely on its spiritual force alone.

LYNN GROSSBERG is a University of California economics graduate, now living in Evanston, Ill. She ecently returned from a prolonged visit to Hungary and other European countries.

New spy scare

1941 the Russians threw back the ermans from the outskirts of Mos- and so began the long ebb of Nazi ory. Last week General Douglas Arthur drew from the files of the anese secret police the names of the and women who, by information forwarded from Japan, helped the tide. Most of those named had executed by the Japanese, the re- said.



he 32,000-word report paid no trib- to them. Instead it labeled them "traitors to Japan" and recommended that those still alive be placed under surveillance. Those named included Dr. Richard Sorge, executed by the Japanese for his contribution to Allied victory; Guenther Stein, a British journalist now living in New York; and Agnes Smedley, well-known historian and expert on China. The report said Miss Smedley was "still at large."

Thursday night Agnes Smedley, who is at large and writing a new book in upstate New York, went on the air over the Mutual network and called General MacArthur a liar.

Fighting mad, she challenged him: "I now say to Gen. MacArthur: waive your immunity— and I will sue you for libel."

CRIME: WINNING THE WAR. Then she hit back: "I charge the whole smear is a smokescreen to pave the way for a new policy of all-out intervention in the Chinese civil war, and to get some more American troops and funds to make Japan a mighty military base.

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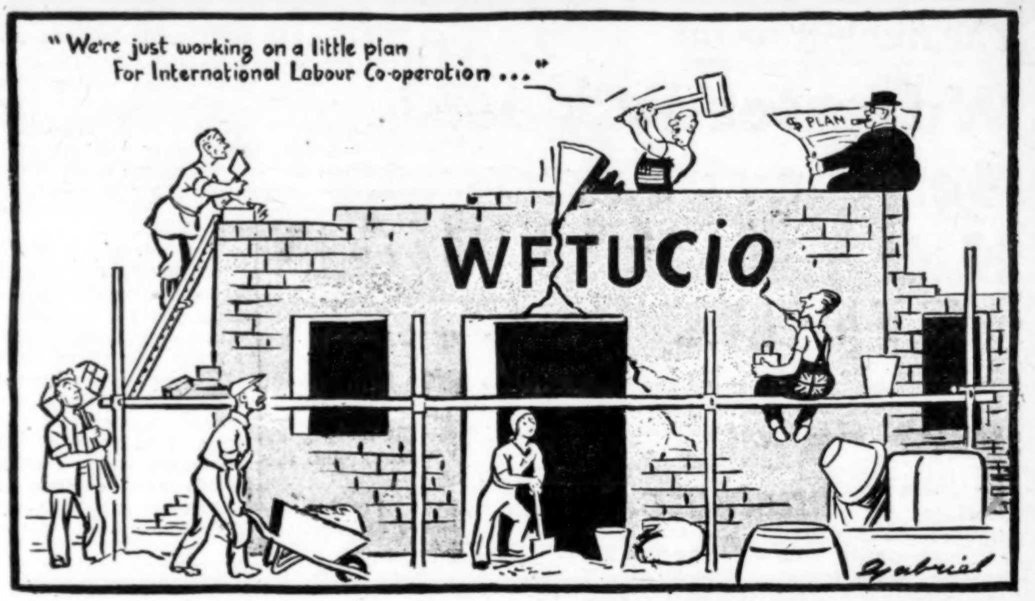

"We're just working on a little plan For International Labour Co-operation ..."
$ PLAN
WFTUCIO
Gabriel

Drawing by Gabriel in the London Daily Worker

Carey's Cold War

The red bogey's having trouble splitting world labor unity

(Special Correspondence)

LAST month James B. Carey of the CIO and Sir Arthur Deakin of the British Trades Union Council walked out of a meeting of the executive bureau of the World Federation of Trade Unions, and announced the withdrawal of their organizations.

The break was another development in the cold war. It represented an effort to split the world labor movement along the East-West cleavage that now marks international politics.

But only a Dutch federation of right-wing unions followed the champions of the Marshall Plan; most of the members are still holding fast to the original aims of the World Federation.

RIFT BEGINS. The organization was formed during wartime in 1944 in London, at the initiative of the British TUC. Its basic objectives were: against war and the causes of war, for a stable and enduring peace, against all encroachments upon the economic and social rights of workers everywhere, for security and full employment, and for the development of international labor solidarity and unity.

Less than four years later, early in 1948, a first rift appeared when British and U.S. delegates tried to put the Federation behind the Marshall Plan against the opposition of the Soviet, Chinese, French and Italian representatives.

In May of that year, at a meeting in Rome, the executive reached a compromise by reaffirming the autonomy of all member groups and refusing to deny them the democratic right to vote for or against the Marshall Plan.

"WE CAN COOPERATE." In January this year Carey and Deakin presented an ultimatum: either the WFTU suspend its activities for a year or they would walk out.

Louis Saillant, French labor leader and WFTU general secretary, countered this threat with the argument that the proposal of suspension was unconstitutional and could be passed upon only by a World Congress.

"We have declared," he said, "that all the differences which may exist within the WFTU between trade union representatives of different nationalities and of different political philosophical or religious beliefs could be settled within the Federation, if the sole objective were the continuous defense of the interests of the workers of the world and the supreme aim of cooperating in agreement between peoples for the establishment of a long and lasting peace between the nations."

THE 60,000,000. The executive bureau voted 4 to 3 against the proposal to suspend activities.

"We are stunned," said Soviet delegate Vassily Kuznetsov, "by the refusal of the TUC and CIO representatives to cooperate with the WFTU. But we are leaving the door open and declare ourselves ready at any time to renew relations with the American and British organizations."

At the executive committee meeting following the walkout, representatives from the U.S., Britain, Canada and Holland were absent but all the others were there, including Australia and the Scandinavian countries. Between them they represented 65 labor organizations with 60,000,000 members in all parts of the world. The Federation was still in business.

Its first action was the acceptance of membership from trade union organizations in Chile, Malta, the Philippines, Siam and Tunisia, and qualified acceptance of membership from the central trade unions of Germany and Japan.

WHAT NEXT? Where will Deakin and Carey go, now that they have walked out?

There has been vague talk of a new International, and some equally vague talk about the Marshall Plan advisory trade union committee serving as the nucleus for such a new federation.

For two reasons Deakin and Carey are moving cautiously. First, can they take their own movements into a new "Western International?" In Britain hundreds of labor organizations have protested the WFTU disaffiliation, including the Public Employes (150,000 members), the Birmingham Trades Council (150,000) and the London Trades Council (600,000).

DOESN'T SMELL RIGHT. Carey and his CIO associates have to consider the embarrassing question of the AFL, which never joined WFTU but is clearly a candidate for any new "Western International."

Will the labor movements of England and other socialism-aspiring countries join forces with the AFL "whose policy," as the London **New Statesman** says, " has long been to create an International not merely militantly anti-Communist but tending actively towards the defense of 'free enterprise' against socialism?"

No such International could hope (adds the **New Statesman**) "to make any impression on the colonial and Asiatic unions." There is no possibility of rallying colonial and Asiatic unions to an anti-Communist crusade "as long as European colonial powers are pursuing in South East Asia—to say nothing of the Middle East—policies which can only too easily be attacked as a continuation of capitalist imperialism."

GOING AHEAD. WFTU's executive board has chosen Peiping, North China, recently captured by the Chinese Communists, for its meeting in May preceding the second world congress in Milan, Italy, on June 29.

In doing this it made pointed reference to Dutch Indonesia and British Malaya, where trade unions are completely suppressed.

Latin America also represents trouble ahead for any "Western International." Vicente Lombardo Toledano, representing the Confederation of Workers of Latin America (CTAL) at the Paris meeting last month, said:

"For the first time in labor history there is an international labor solidarity of workers in favor of freedom and progress in semi-colonial countries like those of Latin America. The Latin Americans must stay with the WFTU."

The hungry world

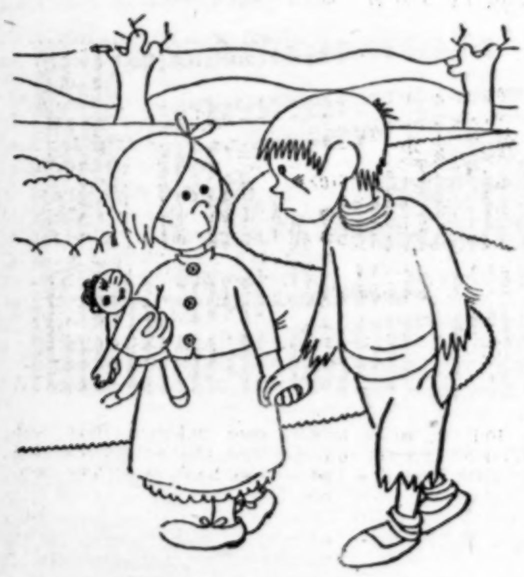
We're feeding Germany better than our allies

FOOD shortages remain the chief subject of conversation and basis of political maneuvering throughout the world, and the United States with its "surpluses" remains master of the situation everywhere. Here are some sidelights on the dinner table as it looks in several countries.

ERP COUNTRIES, WESTERN EUROPE: Prospects are for indefinite continuation of the gray "reducing" diets inflicted on the mass of the people during and since the war years. In its report to the Marshall Plan Administration, the Organization for European Economic Co-operation has thrown cold water on the Plan's assumption that by 1952-53 food consumption would rise to "slightly less than 1948." The report says: "Western Europe may have to be content for some years ahead with a pattern of food consumption not dissimilar to that which exists today."

SPAIN: In General Franco's country the average worker's wage has risen from 12 to 18 pesetas a day since 1936. Cost of his staple dish, chickpeas, has risen from 1.25 pesetas to 13-14 pesetas per kilo (2.2 pounds). Potatoes are eight pesetas (formerly ¼ peseta) for 2 kilos; rice is 12 pesetas per kilo.

But Mrs. Rosemary Hay of Palo Alto, Calif., writes from Madrid to her home-town paper that the food available to the rich leaves her in such "ecstacy" she must fast for a few days "in preparation for new gourmet's surprises." Favorite dishes she has shared with Franco's aristocracy include "tiny unborn roast pig" served with red wine, "calamares or ink fish which with divine persistence lure one on to gastronomic indiscretions," and chicken and shrimp confections "at which the uninhibited joyously scrape away with fatuous smiles of delight."



"Paul, who are the Spanish Reds?"
"I guess that means us."

GERMANY. Society for Prevention of World War III reports: "The U.S. is making record shipments of foodstuffs to the Western zone—far greater than to the countries that fought alongside of us in the late war. . . . [The Germans] do not pay anything for these food shipments; our war-time allies must pay in hard cash or gold. . . . The U. S. is, in effect, subsidizing the German black market, and the poor American taxpayer is left holding the bag." Chicago **Sun-Times** reports that we shall ship to Germany $875,000,000 worth of food in 1948-49, $1,150,000,000 worth in 1949-50, $1,186,000,000 worth in 1950-51.

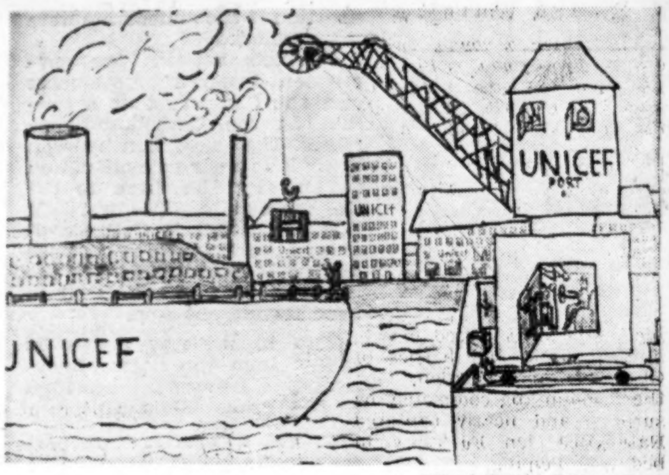
TURKEY. Turks, like Chinese and Indians, are used to starvation and the tradition is not being upset under the Truman Doctrine of aid to "democracies" strategically placed vis-a-vis the U.S.S.R. Of the Turkish "aid" program (95% military), $4,500,000 was spared for road construction which for the first time enabled Turkish farmers to move their goods to market, instead of losing 30% of their crop as in the past through inability to move it. Reports Carroll Kilpatrick, Washington correspondent of the San Francisco **Chronicle**: "The military assistance program was more important than the aid for roads, which has been stopped."

THE U. S. Dept. of Agriculture has discovered something on which world unity and (who knows?) peace might be built.

"In its taste for onions, at least," says the department's **Food Supplies and Markets** bulletin, "the whole world's kin. . . . Onion lovers dwell everywhere. No nation stands alone in its fancy for the pungent bulb."

Note by cynical editor: Purpose of the onion blurb is to push sales of what seems to be a threatened "surplus."

U. S. A. You can't afford meat? Don't blame the farmers who, scared by memories of wildly fluctuating prices before OPA, have slaughtered 7,000,000 head of cattle (8% of the national cattle herd) since OPA was slaughtered. The large packers who led the fight to wreck OPA by withholding meat from retail counters more than doubled their 1945 profits ($21,000,000) in 1947 after ceilings were lifted.



Official United Nations Photo

A drawing sent by a grateful European child to UNICEF.

Story of UNICEF

The UN does not ask the politics of children

By Marcelle Hitschmann

This is the first of a series of articles which will describe the workings of UN agencies.

"THIS work of solidarity does a great deal of good for the entire world. Drinking my milk this morning I think of you, of all your hands united for a single gesture of kindness, and from my heart another thank you springs to my lips."

This is what Gaby Ouzounien, a little French girl from Issy-les-Moulineaux, wrote to UNICEF. There are hundreds and hundreds more similar letters.

To many of us, the International Children's Emergency Fund is just another UN office, with lots of busy people in it, issuing stacks of press releases and photographs. To the children of the world it means help "without discrimination because of race, creed, nationality or political consideration."

WHAT IT DOES. UNICEF was established by the General Assembly in December 1946. It draws aid from nations and peoples able to help with money, goods, and services, and in turn distributes that aid to countries on the basis of their children's needs. Twenty-seven countries have thus far contributed. Receiving aid have been 13 nations in Europe, four in North Africa, 10 in the Far East, five in the Middle East, one in North America (Mexico).

In Europe, UNICEF means help to 4,335,750 children and expectant mothers. This help is represented by one daily supplementary meal of 400 to 600 calories (milk, meat and fish, fats and fish liver oil) and medical care. UNICEF cooperates closely with FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization) in seeking ways to improve the milk production of the aided countries. Together with WHO (World Health Organization) it organizes mass vaccination programs to fight the spread of tuberculosis among children. $4,000,000 has been allocated by UNICEF for this program. $2,000,000 has been earmarked for the anti-syphillis program and $300,000 for a malaria control program in the Far East.

MILLIONS SAY SO. UNICEF has already spent or allocated $91,000,000 of the $100,000.000 it has received. It cannot, with this budget, take care of all the needy children of the world, but it has saved many millions from starvation and death.

This is how a little Bulgarian girl put it into a poem:

We know that we drink milk
today
and know the microbes can't
hurt us
and that is why at this time
we thank the United Nations.

WORLD ROUNDUP

Continued from preceding page.

"By thus using files probably dug from the secret torture chambers of the Japanese police," Miss Smedley commented, "Gen. MacArthur and his staff are taking up where those same agents of the Japanese warlords left off. They seem to be making themselves instruments of evil Japanese propaganda, thus carrying out the will of the late war criminals whom the Allied Court in Japan has put to death."

Concerning China

POLITICAL DAGGER. The report carried its own clear hint that it was directed against remnants in the State Department of the Gen. Stilwell (anti-Chiang) policy, and toward a tougher line against China's Communists. It accused Miss Smedley of being one of the "early perpetrators, if not the originator, of the hoax that the Chinese Communists were really not Communists at all, but only local agrarian revolutionists innocent of Soviet connections. The harm has been done, but perhaps it could be mitigated if she is now exposed for what she is, a spy and agent of the Soviet government."

Agnes Smedley said she never claimed they were anything but Communists.

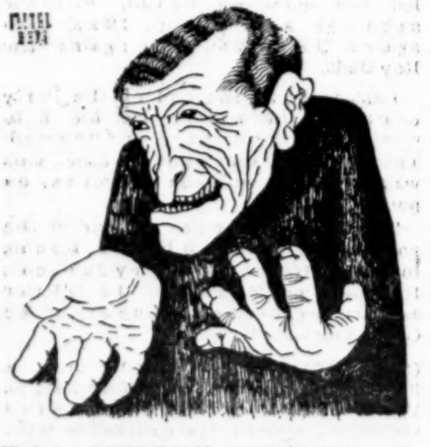
In Washington the House Un-American Activities Committee had what it wanted, and it responded immediately by inviting Army and Navy intelligence officers to come in and tell them all about it.

Crusher Kravchenko

WHEN Victor Kravchenko arrived in Paris on Jan. 8 he told newsmen: "I have come to crush French Communism."

The former member of the Soviet Purchasing Commission, who deserted his post in wartime and denounced his government, was suing Lettres Francaises for libel. The French magazine had doubted his ability to write anything and suggested that his book, "I Chose Freedom," was compiled by someone else. It also surmised that he was "morally insane."

Back from Paris last week was Albert Kahn, GUARDIAN contributor, who testified at the trial. He produced documents to show that Kravchenko had left this country with false identity papers given him by the U. S. Department of Justice, and that he had traveled under the assumed name of Paul Kedrin with connivance of the U. S. Immigration Service and consular agents.



dowry

DOUBLE-HEADER. Tempers flared white-hot in the Paris courtroom. The defense produced Kravchenko's former wife. "Marrying Kravchenko in 1932 was the biggest mistake of my life," she said. "He beat me, he broke dishes, he complained that I had no dowry, he even tried to shoot me."

A Soviet citizen, Nicholas Kolibanoff, who worked with Kravchenko on the Purchasing Commission, testified that Kravchenko had once embezzled 60,000 rubles, had served a year at disciplinary labor. He said further that a medical examination had shown Kravchenko to be mentally deficient.

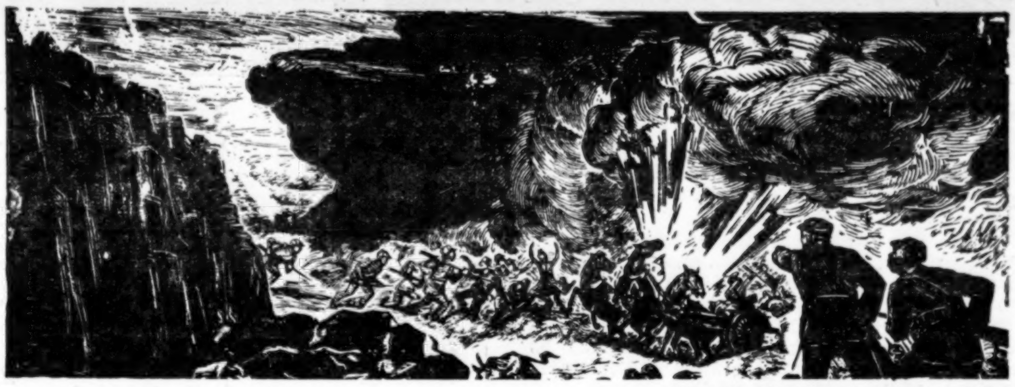
Kravchenko blew up. He jumped to his feet and shouted: "If you weren't a witness I'd tear your head off."

"I would tear off BOTH of yours," said Mr. Kolibanoff.

Changes in Greece

IN the mountain village of Grammos, which last fall was said to have been

Continued Under the Line on next page.



Recapture of a Point from the Enemy

Courtesy of Tribune Subway Gallery
by Wu Cha

Exclusive eye-witness report

The march to Peiping

By Alan Winnington

The author, a young American newspaperman, is the only foreigner to have made the march into North China with the Manchurian People's Army.

PEIPING Front, Dec. 31, 1948 (delayed).—I am writing this message in the outskirts of Peiping after trekking over the mountains with Gen. Lin Piao's victorious Manchurian Liberation Army.

These were the armies whose incredibly swift forced march, straight from the battles of Chinchow and Mukden, took the Kuomintang completely by surprise and nearly captured Nationalist Gen. Fu Tso-yi in bed near Peiping.

Months would have been needed to mobilize this great mass of men and materials by rail. Instead they covered the distance of 600 miles, and more in an average of 20 days—without a single day of rest—and carrying much of their equipment, including mortars, on their backs.

SQUEALING BRAKES. Even by truck the journey was a bad one: running down impossible twisting tracks with ravines on either side, our none-too-certain brakes squealing all the way; or creeping up complementary hazards with the chattering engine at its last knocking gasp. But over all this, armies marched and maneuvered thousands of carts drawn by stubborn oxen, or malicious mules which threatened to fling themselves and their precious loads into the valleys.

At times three or four different columns of green-clad soldiers could be seen at once from our truck winding in all directions across the vast tracts of mountain and plain.

Faces got steadily browner and browner from exposure to the winter sun and mountain winds, and the mood became more and more excited and hilarious at the thought of taking the Kuomintang by surprise.

Organization and discipline on the march were superb. At no point could soldiers be found resting in villages during the day and disturbing the life of the village folk. Each column was instructed, by notices posted every few miles, where it might rest, eat, drink or sleep.

Always there were hot meals. To a Chinese soldier a meal is not a meal unless it is a hot one. Food and fuel as well as cooking vats had to be carried on foot in many of the sparsely farmed districts through which we passed.

DANCING PEOPLE. In the villages, banners hung over the roads saying: "Welcome to the ever victorious Northeast People's Liberation Army." Proud and smiling peasants brought peanuts, pears, persimmons and cakes to sell to the passing troops, and exclaimed with delight. Columns disappeared, new ones came in sight.

"Old fellows," I heard one peasant say, "look at all these soldiers and guns! Our land is safe!"

Children, adults, and bands of drums, cymbals and two-stringed fiddles streamed out of the villages and danced alongside the marching men from village to village for many miles.

So they traveled day after day, mile after mile, crossing half-frozen river fords where the ice had often to be smashed away with hand grenades to let the mule carts pass with their guns and ammunition. Over bleak mountains and sandy wastes where caravans are still a common sight; through the rocky passes of the Great Wall; until with blistered feet and backs weary with carrying weapons, they struck across the plains of Hopei.

THE TEMPO CHANGES. Approaching Peiping, thousands of peasants with mule carts and big wheelbarrows marched with the army, moving up supplies of grain, fuel and fodder, all at the same steady pace until the advance columns came within reach of their objectives.

Then the pace changed. Without stopping for rest, food, or anything but an occasional drink of hot water, they raced over 70 miles in the last 24 hours and attacked the unwary Kuomintang with shattering unexpectedness and violence.

One of Communist Gen. Lin Piao's armies marched from Yihsien, south of Mukden, and struck at Fengtai, south of Peiping, 22 days later, on the night of Dec. 14.

In the last 24 hours a spearhead of this army marched 75 miles and entered the outskirts of Peiping after midnight with Fengtai, the key to the city, as their objective. They slipped through one Kuomintang fortified line and within a few minutes found themselves at the southern airfield. Without hesitation they marched through the landing fields while the completely unsuspecting Kuomintang garrison dozed in the happy belief that its own troops were on the move.

Later, while passing under a bridge, they heard footsteps above and found that a Kuomintang column was passing overhead. Emerging suddenly, they demanded the Nationalists' arms. Four hundred soldiers of Chiang Kai-shek surrendered in utter bewilderment, thinking that, for some inexplicable reason, they were being disarmed by their own army.

RUDE AWAKENING. With their 400 new prisoners the column moved on and came presently to the new and pleasant buildings occupied by Fu Tso-yi's Officers' Training Camp. All the occupants were calmly slumbering, including the drivers of the armored trucks. The drivers were ordered to get up and drive for the People's Army, while the officers were taken prisoners.

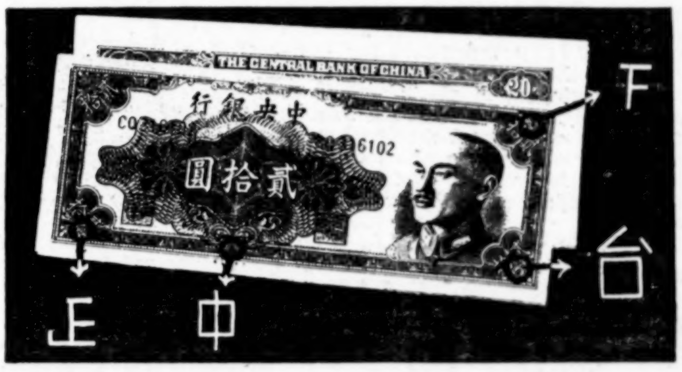
At that moment, Fu Tso-yi was asleep no more than a mile off, believing that the Manchurian Liberation Army was hundreds of miles away. When he awoke in the morning to find that they had slipped through his defense lines, he hurriedly withdrew all his 20,000 men from strongly-fortified Fengtai into Peiping—though at that time he was actually only threatened by light spearheads of the People's Army.

On the next day Fu threw six divisions into a belated attempt to retake Fengtai. But already the People's Army had converted his excellent fortifications to their own purposes, and easily repelled his attacks.

MADE IN U. S. It's too late now for Fu Tso-yi to repair his blunders. His troops have been carved up into segments by the colossal speed and power of the People's Army. They are now being assimilated at leisure.

Fu Tso-yi thought that if the People's Liberation Army struck early it could only strike a light blow. He thought they could not strike hard without regrouping after such a long and heavy journey. He thought that his American arms and equipment would be effective against the arms captured by the People's Army or made by the people in the liberated areas.

Fu was wrong. These are the last, fatal errors of the hard-bitten old warlord. Soon all North China will be freed and the rest of his American equipment will be in the hands of the People's Army.



SHANGHAI—On Feb. 2, in a small town between here and Nanking, an official discovered four Chinese characters inserted by the engraver in the 20-yuan Nationalist banknote. The sentence formed by the four characters, "Chung Cheng Hsia T'ai," means "Chiank Kai-shek will fall." Secretly and hurriedly the order went out for all 20-yuan notes—now worth 2 cents U. S., as against $5 U. S. six months ago—to be withdrawn from circulation. [One of the notes is reproduced above.—Ed.].

WORLD ROUNDUP

Continued from preceding page.

nist Party of Greece held a convention last week. Grave issues faced the party, which leads the resistance to the Athens government.

Some felt that, after four years of fighting, the King's troops and American guns, generals and money had gained a stalemate. They argued there was nothing to do but keep resistance alive in the hills by guerrilla action, and that the only hope lay in some future development that would bring foreign troops to counter American aid. The guerrillas could not win alone, these said.

The Greek Communists argued for days. The view that prevailed was this: the guerrilla force can become a regular army. It can do the job alone. Guerrilla tactics must give way to open warfare. The watchword was to be: "Take the cities and hold them."

Markos story

ROUGH LIFE. Before he became leader of the guerrillas, 43-year-old Markos Vilfiades was a street peddler, shipping clerk, waiter, tobacco worker, and along with all these things a Communist. He led the mountain fighting and the sabotage against the Nazis, then against the British, then against the Royalists.

Last week at the end of the Party conference, he said he was too ill to retain the top command, and resigned. There was no indication whether this was connected with the controversy on policy.

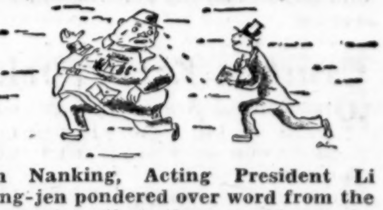
Taking Markos' place as head of the government in the hills was Ioannis Ioannides (Greek for Johnny Johnson). He had been Minister of the Interior and was organizational secretary of the Communist Party.

COMMENT. Out of Athens came a flurry of news reports that Markos was shot; that Ioannides had promised Macedonia and the Dardanelles to Russia. (The identical story was given prominence in the Voelkischer Boebachter, Nazi organ, in 1943.)

In New York the Scripps-Howard World Telegram, commenting on the inefficiency of the Athens army, complained editorially: "The American taxpayer deserves more for his money."

Dance in China

ON the Polo Grounds in Peiping, 10,000 Chinese workers did drum dances while pennants and placards waved and pictures of Communist leaders Mao Tse-tung and Chu Teh were borne aloft. In Canton, whither the Nationalist government had fled, Premier Sun Fo objected to the Communist demand that war criminals be surrendered. Sun Fo is on the list.



In Nanking, Acting President Li Tsung-jen pondered over word from the Communists that they would not be rushed on peace negotiations. Early in the week he considered taking a plane into Communist territory to end the suspense.

Warlords in Kwangtung, Fukien, Hunan and Kwangsi Provinces said they would fight on no matter who surrendered what. And Chiang Kai-shek stayed hard by the tomb of his mother in Fenghua.

Eire votes

ECHOES of Ireland's bloody wars with England were heard again last week as the six counties of the north voted for a parliament that would continue union with the Empire. The Nationalists stood for a united Ireland under the green, white and gold of Eire.

The campaign was violent. Windows were broken in the towns and among the missiles thrown at meetings were oranges stuffed with razor blades. Even before the votes were counted, Premier John A. Costello of Eire, former Premier Eamon de Valera and other leaders of the republic issued a joint statement charging election fraud and repudiating the outcome.

Eire had already indicated that partition must be ended as her price for involvement in the North Atlantic Alliance.

The British thought they detected a fading of anti-British feeling in Eire. One observer in the New Statesman and Nation, noting that a generation had passed since the great Trouble, found himself muttering: "While there is death there is hope."

• Round the Nation with the Guardian By-liners •

Brooklyn ALP tries new kind of parley

by **Jeremiah C. Ingersoll**

BROOKLYN

A UNIQUE type of conference with no resolutions and few speeches has set up a program for community action by the Kings County American Labor Party (N.Y. Progressive Party) in Brooklyn. Although a group of experts was invited to participate in each of the five panels, they made no speeches. Instead, they answered questions from the floor on strategy and techniques to be used in specific campaigns.

Typical of the proceedings was the discussion following a report by the Kensington Club delegates on their campaign to obtain a long-promised extension of subway service on the Culver line. The experts outlined the proper procedure to follow and noted the appropriate city authorities to contact.

CO-OP MILK PLAN. The Housing and Consumer Panel discussed means of getting permanent shelter from government organizations for six families whose multiple dwelling was destroyed by fire. In addition, a plan was proposed for cooperative buying of milk by ALP clubs at a saving of three cents a quart.

Other problems considered were means of getting a school for the 2,800 families in the Canarsie Housing Project and establishing closer cooperation between labor unions and local ALP clubs.

The only speeches were made by Paul Ross, chairman of the New York Tenants Council, who related domestic problems to the cold war, and Minneola P. Ingersoll, ALP candidate for Congress from the 7th C.D.

Panel chairmen, in their reports to the assembly, stressed that the success of the conference would be measured by the extent to which the local ALP clubs come forward as leaders of the crucial campaigns in their communities.

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Dan Webster's shade fights witch hunt

By **Muriel G. Gravella**

CONCORD, N. H.

THE idea of a local witch hunt is meeting widespread opposition from the independent people of the tart and mountainous state of New Hampshire.

State Representative Harold H. Hart has introduced into the Legislature a resolution to investigate alleged teachings of "violent overthrow of the government" at the state university.

Only the American Legion of the state (under the leadership of Frank O'Neil, last year's national Legion commander) and the **Manchester Union** support the probe.

All other papers in the state oppose it. The tiny weekly **Canaan Reporter** quotes "Black Dan'l" Webster. The **Dover Democrat** remarks, "As a machine politician, Mr. Hart knows that it is always safe to attack the corn borer and the Communists."

STRONG OPPOSITION. Hearings on the probe last week brought out so many witnesses against it that they had to be continued. Witnesses included the state treasurer of the Progressive Party, who characterized the Hart move as an effort to divert attention from unemployment (it has risen 86% in New Hampshire in the past year); students representing a broad University of New Hampshire Students Committee for Academic Freedom for Professors; Young Democrats, Young Progressives, ADA; and the Rev. Clinton Condit, for five years campus leader of Protestant Churches at the University, who suggested money for the probe could be better spent on paying university chaplains.

Last week a newly-formed Dartmouth Committee announced it would send a representative to oppose the investigation. Elected chairman of the committee—which includes both undergraduates and faculty members—is Francis J. Bealey, editor of **The Dartmouth,** undergraduate newspaper.

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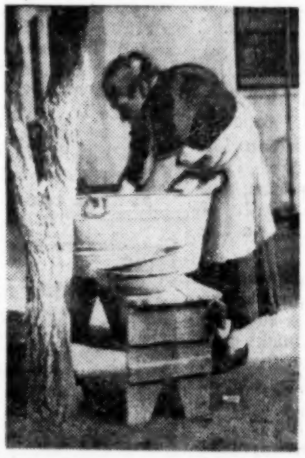
Taxes in Texas—and Auntie's burden

By **Alberto Mendez**

AUSTIN, TEX.

AUNT ANTONIA, who takes in wash to support two small children, uses lots of water in a year's time. Her water bill runs about the same as the mayor's every month, and he has a big place with lots of lawn and shrubs and trees to water.

But Austin's mayor doesn't see anything unfair about Austin's municipal water rates. He thinks they are fine. Every two years the water department declares a surplus of funds, which are transferred to the general treasury of the city. This makes the tax burden lighter and is a relatively painless way to collect taxes, since the people think they are paying for water. Also it is apparently a very equitable tax, as everybody uses water and is charged according to the amount used. Thus it looks fair all around.



IN NICE SECTIONS. But when the tax money is apportioned, the mayor has a system of apportioning to make sure each part of the City of Austin receives improvements and services in proportion to the amount of taxes collected from each section.

Most of the taxes on property are collected from the nice homes, and are of course spent on the schools and streets and parkways in these residential sections.

Now—what about the hidden tax on water? Couldn't that money go back where it came from too? If the water tax surplus were equitably distributed Aunt Antonia might get at least some relief from carrying the hidden tax burden for rich people who don't have to take in washing for a living.

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Disability Confab in Albany Feb. 16

ALBANY, N. Y.

A CONFERENCE for effective Workmen's Compensation scheduled for the Hotel Ten Eyck here Feb. 16 will bring hundreds of delegates to the state capital to launch a legislative fight for wholesale improvements in compensation and disability insurance laws The committee organizing the conference has interim headquarters at 271 State St., Schenectady.

A program of proposed new legislation includes 15 changes considered necessary in existing laws. Chief of these calls for an increase from $32 to $40 as the weekly maximum compensation allowable under the law; and full benefits for silicosis and other dust-disease victims.

THE SETUP NOW. These sufferers presently receive compensation for full disability (third-stage) only. Statistics show that for every third-stage victim, there are several partially disabled or suffering from illness traceable to dust poisoning.

Other proposals call for increase in payments for permanent loss of use of limbs in addition to compensation for loss of time from work; pay differentials for persons whose earning power is lowered because of injury; protection to workers exposed to radio-active substances; inclusion of trade union representation on compensation boards; and new penalties for employers evading responsibilities under the law.

All groups, trade unions and others concerned with problems of compensation and workmen's insurance are invited.

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Chicago ward club beards congressman

CHICAGO

THE 35th Ward Progressive Party Club pinned down newly-elected Congressman Chester A. Chesney (D-Ill.) on the issues before the 81st Congress and got the following information:

Chesney said he stands for outright repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law and re-enactment of the Wagner Act; low-cost housing by both governmental and private agencies; rent control; limited price control; against help to Chiang Kai-shek.

However, he refused to go along with abolition of the House Un-American Committee, was "vague" on the Marshall Plan and Truman Doctrine, but says he is for "strengthening the United Nations."

Watch him closely, the 35th Ward delegation advised its membership: "He wants to do the things that will re-elect him. It's up to the people to let him know."

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Wash. State PP has eye on March 15

SEATTLE, WASH.

THE Progressive Party of Washington, following the program adopted by the state board meeting in January, is launching a campaign on "How to Reduce Your Income Tax."

The reduction system, which the P.P. hopes to get across to every Washington taxpayer by Mar. 15, is "Stop the Cold War." The campaign, to be waged by leaflets, forums, meetings etc., will inform the citizenry on appropriation of 76% of each tax dollar for war measures, foreign military aid and Marshall Plan economic support to cold war allies.

Shorter Takes

IN Washington, D.C., **Frederick A. Blossom** has distributed a brown-paper leaflet challenging the **Washington Post's** public opinion poll, which asks such questions as "If the United States does not send more aid to Europe, what do you think will happen there?"; and "Do you think we are going to have a depression?"

Blossom's leaflet asks the **Post:**

"Why not test public opinion on matters of personal choice—not prophecy?

"For example: why not ask mothers, 'Which of your sons would you be willing to sacrifice to help the British keep a German-born king on the throne of Greece against the will of the Greek people?"

"Or ask fathers, 'Which of your boys are you ready to see crippled for life to prevent Russia from having a share in the control of the Dardanelles?' "

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From the **San Francisco Chronicle, George L. Hanlin** encloses a story headed MAYOR GIVEN SIX-YEAR CITY BUILDING PLAN which reports no housing plans for humans, but includes "new quarters for Fleishhacker Zoo monkeys, $150,000; new giraffe barn, $50,000."

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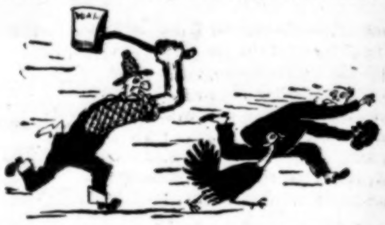
Walter Hnatysh of Greenbelt, Md., who reads the **Congressional Record** more closely than we do, caught Rep. John Rankin in the following statement on the occasion of the Inaugural Ball:

"These Reds won a great victory when they were permitted to conduct the Inaugural Ball and force hundreds of Negroes onto the floor of that ball for the first time in history. This is the greatest insult ever perpetrated against the white girls of Washington, and the whole country, as for that matter."



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In New York **Maurine Austin** caught CBS's Galen Drake drawling about the Soviet cosmetic industry and complaints that Russian mascara runs.

"Tell me," she wrote Drake, "do you know of a real waterproof mascara in America? Maybe our mascara is un-American, for strangely enough my mascara behaves in the same communistic fashion complained of by the Russian women."

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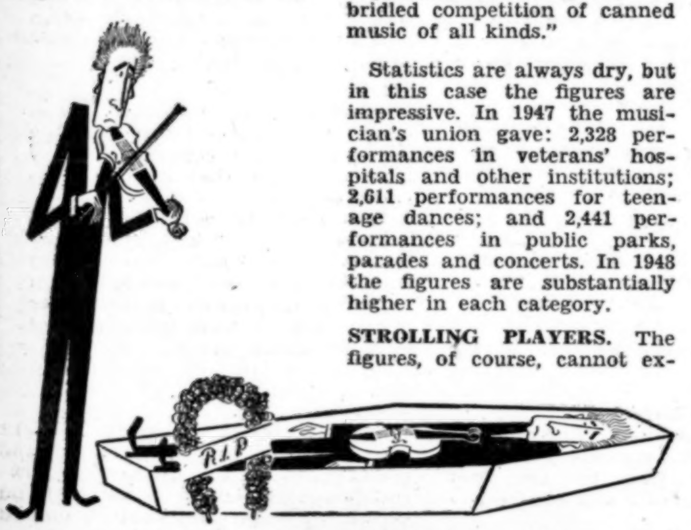
LIVING & LEISURE

Pegler won't tell you

The Musicians Union has given 23,000 free performances

SOME people, when they want to scare little children, say "Petrillo!" The newspapers, always willing to serve, have done wonders in making a bogeyman out of James Caesar Petrillo and the American Federation of Musicians (AFL), of which he is president.

But some not-too-intensive digging behind the headlines has brought to light several heartwarming facts about the "evil" musician's union.



In the past two years the AFM has given 23,000 free performances of music in every state of the Union, in seven provinces of Canada and in Hawaii.

The union has spent $3,000,000 to provide these free performances as a contribution to "public knowledge and appreciation of music."

DOUBLE SHOT. The program, says Petrillo, has a double-barreled purpose: "It has enabled millions to hear live music, most often in places where it has not up to now been available. It has also served as a shot in the arm to a profession beset by the unbridled competition of canned music of all kinds."

Statistics are always dry, but in this case the figures are impressive. In 1947 the musician's union gave: 2,328 performances in veterans' hospitals and other institutions; 2,611 performances for teenage dances; and 2,441 performances in public parks, parades and concerts. In 1948 the figures are substantially higher in each category.

STROLLING PLAYERS. The figures, of course, cannot explain in terms of human and social benefits the meaning of small bands of musicians strolling through the wards of veterans' hospitals where the patients have long since had to adjust themselves to public forgetfulness; the meaning of a concert orchestra playing for an evening in an old folks' home; the happiness of kids in an orphange when the musicians come to play; or the small lift given to the inmates of a prison by a program of music.

In every part of the country union musicians have provided free dance bands for "Teen Towns" and other young peoples' clubs in the effort to reduce juvenile delinquency by keeping kids off the streets and out of dives.

Union musicians have played free at Harvest Festivals; they have gone to the local depot to greet the Freedom Train when it came to town; they have accompanied Christmas carolers in their singing rounds; they have played at block parties, in park bandstands, in municipal auditoriums.

ALL TO THE JUKES. All of this is made possible by the union's fight against unemployment caused by canned music. Phonograph records, wired music, transcriptions, juke boxes, and movie soundtracks have tossed tens of thousands of musicians out of regular employment. When sound conquered the movies, 18,000 men were thrown out of jobs overnight.

Enormous profits are made from music, yet there are few opportunities for musicians. In 1946 juke boxes took in the fantastic total of $230,000,000—and not a dime of it went to the musicians who made such profits possible.

ABIDE WITH WHOM? As Petrillo said, the musician was being asked to fiddle at his own funeral.

As one method of lessening the disastrous effects of canned music, the union won an agreement with manufacturers of canned music to pay a modest tax for every mechanical recording. This money goes into the union's Recording and Transcription Fund, which is used for the sole purpose of presenting the no-admission performances. Employment is given musicians at union rates and the public gets the music free.

THE COTTON PATCH

HARVIELL, MO.

WE WAS helpin Brother Will (Whisperin) Thompson put up his new tent (an outcast sharecropper buys a tent and moves here with us) when we notices a stirrin around up front of the community.

Then we see the cause. It is Rev. Finality Ross drivin in his new Funeral Coach.

We surrounds the "sleep-hauler" as Sister Beauf Flemmings steps to the ground, weepin.

"I SUCCEEDED," says Beauf, dabbin her eyes, "in gettin Wimmin (her daughter) in hospital for the operation after I paid out $125—all we made pickin cotton and all I got in this world. And now," she says, "the doctor tells me if I dont git $75 in two hours they will put Wimmin out and let her die. I want to see if you Brothers and Sisters will loan me the $75 to save my child's life."

We calls an emergency meetin and votes to loan her the money out of our Co-Op treasure. It was Saturday mornin, and when Beauf gets back to the Hospital two hours later, they had already put Wimmin out. They takes the girl back when Beauf gives them the $75.

They operated and put the baby in an incubator. They sewed the girl's side back up, and the baby dies.

FIVE days later the same sleep-wagon rolls in among us again. We rush out thinkin the girl is dead, but she is not—just screamin and groanin with pain. The women begin to weep.

"Shut up," says I. "This is no time to go bellerin. Let's get her in the house and try to save her life. The doctor sent her out to us without tellin us what to do for her, but lets get busy."

"They dont give a whoop if we die jes so they gets the money," says Maryjane Runion.

"Yes," says Dottie (my wife), "but we jes aint goin to do it. We got to live and fight. As for me I am too doggone mean and mad to die. That's the reason theyre so scared the Govment goin to set up sompin so we can get treated like humans."

"Yep," says deacon Hank Tripp, "them AMA fellers got the world in a jug allright."

"IT'S A FACT," says I. "But as God says to one of the churches in Asia Minor, Book of Revelation, 'I got a little sompin agin you, and except you repent I will come quickly and do sompin about it.' So we say the same to the AMA boys—we got sompin agin them and aims to do sompin about it."

"You goldang right," says Beauf Flemmings, openin an envelope and lookin over another bill from the Horsepit-all for $107.

Owen Whitfield

DOLLAR STRETCHER

Hearing Aid Kickbacks

SOME doctors are now taking kickbacks from dealers in hearing devices, the **Journal** of the American Medical Assn. recently revealed. There is no indication yet of the extent of this practice. But, one medical authority points out, the widespread nature of the fee-splitting in the medical profession can be gauged by the fact that in the optical trade alone, 4,000 eye specialists are involved in the campaign of the U. S. Justice Dept. to eliminate the rebate racket.

Chief harm of fee splitting on hearing aids is this: a doctor may be tempted to recommend a device on which he gets a large kickback; and this generally means a more expensive brand.

SOME GOOD ADVICE. People buying an aid can protect themselves from swindle in several ways:

1. Get the list of AMA-accepted hearing aids by writing to the American Medical Assn., 535 N. Dearborn Street, Chicago. While this list includes some of the most expensive devices, it eliminates those of dubious effectiveness.

2. Try out several of the AMA-approved hearing aids; but don't let a hearing-aid salesman give you advice on what you need, or sell you on the idea you need a specially-fitted device.

Salesmen's recommendations can hardly be considered unprejudiced. You can get some assistance from the League of the Hard of Hearing (write them at 480 Lexington Ave., New York, for address of chapter nearest you.) The League will give you a chance to try out the various devices, and if you want to use an ear specialist they will provide a qualified list.

You can also get qualified advice from local hospital clinics and specialized agencies, such as the Central Institute for the Deaf in St. Louis.

3. In making a final choice, with or without the advice of a specialist, consider that a number of authorities have said there is little variation among approved aids using the high-fidelity amplifier system, other than in size and weight. You will note on the AMA list that the Zenith (less than $60) is approved as well as some brands over $200.

Buys in Slips

WITH prices of rayon fabrics down, prices of slips are lower too. But if some of your present slips are still wearable but too short, it's less expensive to re-trim them than to buy new ones.

A slip-lengthener can add three inches. It has lace on top and bottom and comes 1¾ yards long—enough for one slip—for $1. It's available in department stores throughout the country. (McCreery's in New York). It comes in black, white or tearose.

FIVE-AND-TEN LACE. But handy as it is, the slip-lengthener is not inexpensive. If you don't require three inches more length, you can get lace in the five-and-tens to add on an inch or two more.

In buying a new slip, try it on first to make sure it's cut comfortably for you. Try to get smooth but not tight fit over bust and hips, and an even hang. Manufacturers' sizes vary; one maker's 32 may be the same as another's 30.

Guard against sizing in both silk and rayon slips. Sizing is a powdery substance used to give a thin material more body when it's new; but it washes out and leaves the fabric sleazy.

Plastic Dishe.

FOR families with children, plastic dishes looked like a boon. They were a disappointment because they tended to warp in very hot water, developed odors and sometimes stains.

There has been an improvement in these dishes. The thicker plastics now on the market, testing experts report, do not warp nor pick up odors although the cups still seem to have a tendency to stain.

WATCH THE COLORING. There are also thinner and cheaper plastic dishes of less certain durability. In some cases they have a rag or paper content mixed into the plastic, an adulteration that is given away by speckled coloring. The heavier plastic dishes are a little more expensive than moderate quality earthenware and can be expected to last about four times as long.

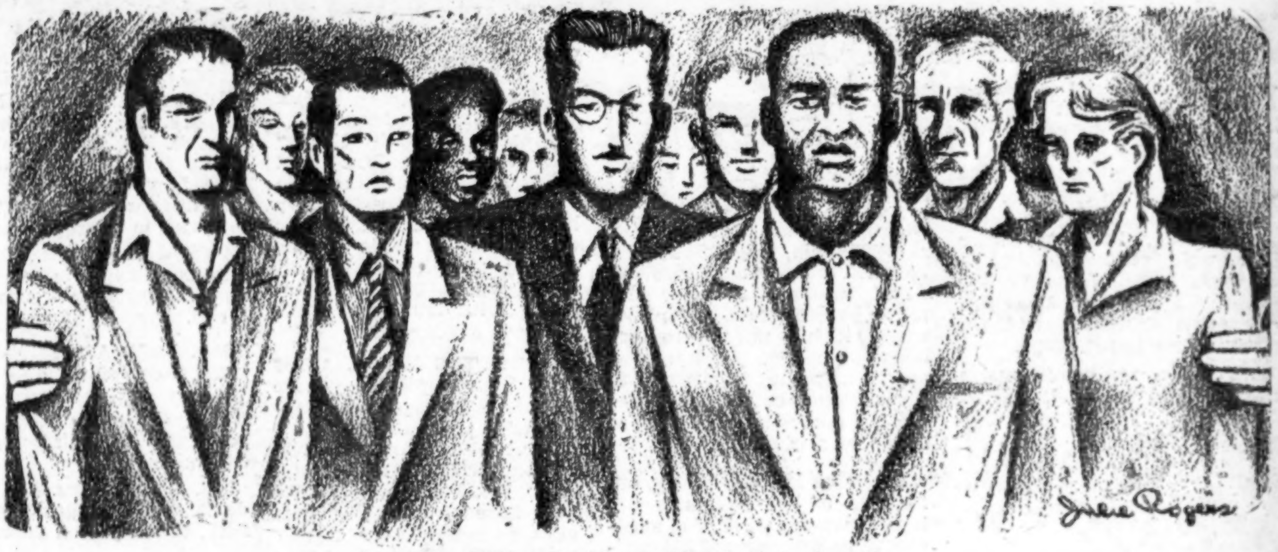
Besides using thickness and clear color as guides to durability, check the design. Avoid plastic sets with too-shallow dinner plates, or with sharp rims left by poorly-designed molds. This is especially undesirable on the cups.

A Faith to Free the People

By Cedric Belfrage

The spirit says come, the bride says come—
Whosoever will let him come.—REVELATION

Claude Williams, son of a Tennessee sharecropper, had learned the nature of true religion and its relation to the life of the people through his experience as a minister of the Presbyterian Church. For actively championing the cause of the workers and especially of the Negroes, he had been ousted from his Arkansas church, beaten and jailed. During the war the Presbytery of Detroit appointed him its Industrial Chaplain, to help maintain fair and balanced relations among the races thronging the city to work on war jobs.



"... For God made of one blood all nations."

XI. The Churches' Opportunity

FROM the most explosive sector of Detroit, rumblings of an approaching storm had been swelling up since the beginning of the year. "Hate strikes" engineered by white-supremacy groups had broken out in factory after factory where Negro workers were employed.

On the humid night of Sunday, June 20, the land-mine planted under Detroit by the preachers of hatred blew up. Delegates to the Methodist Annual Conference, who had been attending the final session in St. Mark's Church, saw the beginning of the race riot as they passed the Belle Isle bridge on their way home. A melee had started between whites and Negroes; hundreds of men of both races were rushing into the fight. On Monday morning a group of Conference delegates met with Bishop Wade, to discuss their missionary program, at the Methodist headquarters in a downtown office building. By then the riot had spread to such proportions that the meeting was drowned out by the din from the streets, and had to be abandoned.

Characteristically, Claude was in the storm-center: the hotel in which he was living was on the borderline between the white section and the colored ghetto of Paradise Valley.

THE preacher's first thought was to telephone his Negro colleague, Charles Hill of the Detroit Council of Churches' Interracial Commission. Hill had been up since 2 a.m., working methodically to set forces in motion to quell the riot before it got completely out of hand. He told Claude that a meeting of responsible leaders of all groups involved in the situation had been set for noon, to take place at the Lucy Thurman YWCA for Negroes in Paradise Valley.

Meanwhile Dr. Fred Olert, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, had called a Council of Churches meeting at the central (white) YWCA.

"Isn't that just like the Church?" Claude burst out when he learned this. "The Negroes will be at the Lucy Thurman, Labor will be there, the Citizens' Committee and the Civil Rights people, the Communists, the Socialists—and in this crisis the Church finds an excuse for going off in an eddy!"

The 16 Church leaders who had assembled at the white YWCA needed little persuading when Claude arrived there with three other militant preachers. They formed themselves in a body and set out for the Lucy Thurman, where they found UAW President R. J. Thomas demanding that the Mayor—who was present in the hall—call out troops to protect workers going to and from the plants.

THE Mayor tried to persuade the meeting that that was not necessary. When the Church group reassembled to discuss their position, Dr. Olert thought they should recommend closing all plants until the trouble was over. Claude pointed out that this was exactly what the enemy wanted: it would be the same as handing him thousands of weapons of war on a silver dish.

The Church group voted that afternoon to go on record as supporting Labor's demand for troop protection. The president and secretary of the Council of Churches were instructed to call on the Mayor forthwith and convey this resolution to him.

A few hours later the troops were called out and order began to be restored.

Not until Thursday was the Army able to ease the curfew restrictions in Detroit, signifying the end of the bloody hostilities in which 34 had been killed, over a thousand wounded. The fascist cause had won a great victory in the field of propaganda, a victory in which the morale of hundreds of thousands of war workers had been further lowered. As a result of absenteeism caused by the terror and anarchy in the streets of the city, the armaments producible in one-million man-hours had in effect been destroyed between the morning of June 21 and the evening of June 22.

AS for the organized Churches, they were faced with the bitter realization that the riot had taken them by surprise and they were unprepared to act in such a crisis. Scores of individual churchmen had worked day and night during the days of violence to repair the doubly dangerous break in the dam. But the interracial program prepared by the Council of Churches was only just ready to be launched when the riot broke out. It was too little and too late.

The only effective proposals for preventing further outbreaks had been put forward on the third day of the riot by the UAW, through its president, R. J. Thomas. The Churches eagerly accepted the UAW's eight-point program in the absence of one of their own. In so doing they confessed to the world that Christian leadership in action had passed from the Church to organized Labor.

So exactly had Claude called the cards in advance on what would happen—first the race riot, then the cries of "Red!"—that he had made it difficult for his antagonists in the Church to take any action against their embarrassingly outspoken industrial chaplain. To those who asked for his answer to the charges that he was a Communist or fellow-traveler, he said: "Just say I am a fellow-traveler with the man who went to the Cross."

ON May Day, the traditional day of the people, the Institute's first ordination ceremony was performed in the Lucy Thurman YWCA in Detroit. Those gathering to be ordained were the fully trained and matured leaders who had been closest to the work over a long period.

The ordination ceremony was as informal as the first Communion itself. After some introductory remarks by Claude, his friend John Miles led the group in singing "What is that I see yonder coming," with the new verses:

"Oh, it is one great band of people. . . ."
"Great multitudes no man can number. . . ."
"Oh, we will march with them to freedom. . . ."
"One in mind, heart, soul and power. . . ."

Then the Tennessee preacher who had sown the seeds of the Institute began reciting from the Bible, and as he did so the people rose in groups, men and women, white and colored, and took their places at the tables which had been arranged in the form of a cross. "They shall come," said Claude, "from the east—and from the west—from the north—and from the south—a great multitude which no man could number. . . ." Every nation, tongue and kindred was represented by the people standing around the cross. "And shall sit down," continued the preacher, "with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob." The people all sat down together.

"In the beginning of this movement in Egypt, the night before the exodus, there were only two sides: God's side and Pharaoh's side—or the people's side and the taskmasters' side. There was no middle ground. So at the Last Supper with the Nazarene, there were only two sides. The institutional Church was apart from the people and busy with its formalities; the Nazarene and His disciples were in hiding. Again there was no middle ground. Either they were with the Nazarene or with the Roman crucifiers.

"And today again the same—we are on the side of tyranny or on the side of the people. There is still no middle ground.

"The symbolism of the bread and wine now to be served is that this movement was broken by the crucifixion of the Nazarene. The bread as a substance of life symbolizes the great body of people who are to carry on, and sharing this we symbolize our growing unity. The wine represents the blood which was shed not only by the Nazarene but by many in the same movement of the people. Blood is red and appropriately symbolizes the world movement of all people and their unity—for God made of one blood all nations."

THEN the people all ate and drank of the bread, sandwiches, wine and grape juice which were laid out on the tables, continuing to talk informally among themselves.

Finally the candidates rose to be ordained, reciting together the statement of faith:

"I will actively seek to perfect our government of the people, by the people and for the people; oppose any abridgement of freedom of speech, worship or assemblage; strive to attain economic, political and racial justice for all people; oppose all forms of racism, anti-Semitism and political bigotry; support Labor in its program to organize all workers into unions and to bargain collectively; oppose any abridgement of the rights of Labor whether they be in the name of religion, politics or expediency; apply the principle of cooperation and brotherhood in the problems of everyday life."

Claude and John Miles went from one candidate to the other, ordaining them. Instead of kneeling submissively, the people stood, ready to fight for the faith which they had affirmed.

THE END—
OR THE BEGINNING?

Girding for a new fight against growing racial tension and monopoly exploitation of labor, the People's Institute of Applied Religion will hold a working preachers' conference this month at Nashville, Tennessee. Next month Claude Williams will come to New York for a congress of the Institute which will be open to the public. Watch GUARDIAN for announcement of place and date.—Ed.

Democrat Negro ban fought in Alabama

By Johanna Newhouse

BESSEMER, ALA.

THE State Executive Committee of the Alabama Progressive Party, meeting here, denounced Dixiecrat leader Horace Wilkinson for proposing that Negroes be denied membership in the Alabama Democratic Party.

The Progressive resolution stated:

"Now that their pet Boswell amendment has been declared illegal, these worthy gentlemen cease all pretense at 'fairness' and 'legality.' . . . All their fine words or noble phrases, 'Constitutional Government,' 'State's Rights,' etc., when translated into actuality, boil down to 'Keep the Negro from Voting.'

NO 2d CLASS. "This is their plan to help Alabama! Will the fact that Negroes are kept from voting build roads, help the farmer, erect hospitals, build schools, bring industry to the South?

"The Progressive Party states unequivocally that there are no second-class citizens in America. Negroes have the right to join any political party. The Progressive Party invites Negro Democrats to join its ranks."